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Borneo.[7] The combination *kaja*-east is consequently the most sacred location in the Balinese world picture. For a large part of Bali, Gunung Agung (which, it will be recalled, was according to the *Usana Bali* a part of the Indian mountain of the gods, Mahameru), with Bali's chief temple on its flank,[8] has that location. The unfavourable antipode is formed by *kĕlod*-west.

It is, of course, impossible to mention every detail of this system in a general survey such as the present one. There are a number of local variations. In the mountain areas, for instance, the proximity of a prominent peak may attract the orientation *kaja* towards it, in deviation from the general orientation.

The elements in each of the two series form combinations with one another: they are in essence alike, and hence interchangeable. Each series can also be expanded, and concepts which usually fall outside the bipartite system may sometimes be drawn into it, as appears from the following. In various traditional villages such as Madenan and Kubutambahan the meetings of the *desa* association are held according to the Hindu-Balinese lunar-solar chronology, and those of the *banjar* according to the thirty-week year of the Javanese-Balinese calendar.[9] This can be explained by the fact that, as was pointed out above,[10] the *banjar* was drawn more closely into the Javanese-Balinese royal sphere than the *desa*. There is no trace of evidence that the Javanese-Balinese chronology is generally unfavourable or profane in character: throughout Bali hundreds of sacred festivals for the powers of the upper world are dated according to it. But where the two systems occur alongside one another they appear to become involved in the cosmic antithesis almost automatically: then the Hindu-Balinese chronology is said to 'have to do with religion', while the Balinese-Javanese is said to be 'for mortals'. Something of the same sort can be seen when the ingredients of offerings are distinguished according to their purpose: for offerings to the upper world the leaves on which ingredients are placed are turned with the light side upwards, for those to the nether world with the dark side up.[11]

This duality, and the antipodal mode of thinking accompanying it, dominate not only an entity but its constituent parts. Such a

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592 Brahman caste, which is considered in one of the studies below.[21]
78 But also persons who do not belong to the Brahman caste can attain a comparable consecration, *mĕwintĕn*, which is (or at any rate was) compulsory for persons wanting to read the holy writings. The dead bodies of persons who have received such a consecration do not need to be removed from the house during Nyĕpi.[22] (In Tĕnganan the term *mĕwintĕn* is used for the ceremony concluding the period of apprenticeship or initiation in the young people's associations.)

761 The ceremonies of the second series consist of those for the dead.
764 These are numerous, comprehensive, and very detailed on Bali. One should either write a book about that vast complex of offerings, purifications, and actions[23] or else write as little as possible. Unable to do the former, I shall restrict myself to a few general remarks.

As a result of death one falls in the power of the nether world: one becomes a 'servant of the deity of the temple of the dead'.[24] Hence the body of a dead person must be removed from the house and buried as quickly as possible. The ceremonies immediately after death may not be performed in the household temple. They have an exorcizing, deterrent function; contact with the dead is shunned, and an effort is made to terminate it, as is clear from the very name of one of the ceremonies, the *mĕpĕgat*, the breach.

Such a situation may not be allowed to last, however. The relatives have the duty to purify the souls of a dead person by means of the prescribed rites, so that it may take its place among the deified ancestors worshipped in the household temple – and the earlier that is done the better. In principle the property of a dead person must serve first of all to finance the purification ceremony, and his estate may not be divided before it has been performed; only persons willing to take on the duty of having the rites performed are allowed to be his heirs. In parts of Bali where
761 there is a strong Hindu or Hindu-Javanese influence such puri-
764 fication takes place in the form of cremation. (As has already
184 been pointed out,[25] a great deal that is of various origins can be

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detected beneath the Hindu garb of older forms.) In practice cremation is frequently put off for a long time, and sometimes is not held at all, because of the great expense usually involved. This no doubt serves to account for the fact that, according to a recent estimate, only thirty per cent. of the Hindu-Balinese are given purification ceremonies.[26]

The purification rites, like the other rites, are not restricted to the family sphere. The community keeps watch to see whether and how they are observed. Reactions are sharper as regards rites of exorcism than as regards those of worship. The *desa* community takes care that the prohibitions regarding burial are maintained.

The requirement that the rites be performed in a certain way is often a condition for the use of the village burial ground (*sĕma desa*). Anyone who wishes to follow a different rite must find a resting place for his dead ones elsewhere. Such an attitude occasionally leads to difficulties between the *desa* and specific groups. The immediate occasion for the study of the *pande wĕsi* included in this volume[27] was such an issue. In some *desas* the *pande wĕsi* were not allowed to bury their dead in the *sĕma desa* because the *desa* required the use of holy water prepared by the *pĕdanda*, while the *pande wĕsi* used holy water prepared by their own religious leaders. For similar reasons use of the *sĕma desa* is, or was, also sometimes denied Hindu-Balinese converted to Christianity.

4

The Pĕdanda: His Origin

In many Balinese families, especially in the noble castes, a *pĕdanda* is invited to officiate at the *rites de passage*. This priest may be considered as a direct descendant of the Indian Brahmins whom the Indonesian rulers called to their courts in early times.[28] The chief doctrine the Brahmins brought with them to the archipelago was the Çaiwasiddhānta, which:

> ... was traditionally an esoteric teaching transferred solely from *guru* to disciple in an unbroken oral chain. The initiates usually belong to the

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As a matter of course they will seek a place 'higher than the village', in Balinese thus *kaja*,[16] to worship the lord of the ground. This place of veneration is the *pura puseh*[17] or temple of origin, and there, besides the lord of the ground, the villagers will later also worship the deified forefather or clan and village founder, and seek contact with that force. For the graveyard and the *pura dalem* accompanying it (also in its more rudimentary forms) they will seek a place 'lower than the village' (*kelod*).

For their village meetings they choose a spot in the centre of the settlement, for example at a crossroads or the place where the market is held (the two will often coincide). It is quite plausible that in very early times the young men's houses, the accomodations for strangers (that is to say, guests of the village), and perhaps the pavilion for the cockfights were located there. Also the initiation of young people to the status of full members of the *desa* may have taken place there in very early days. (Whether there were originally various initiations, for example first a puberty rite, then later the initiation as *desa* member coinciding with the young man's marriage, need not be considered here.) This centre of the village, with its multiple functions in *desa* life, developed into a temple, the *pura bale agung*, the temple of the large (meeting) hall. It is this temple that Korn describes as "the sacral men's house".[18]

These three temples should be present in every village, and the more traditional villages have all three. But there are remarkable local deviations. In the first place the *pura puseh* may be represented anew in a part of the *pura bale agung*. This representation can be of various kinds. Sometimes there is a separate *pura puseh*, and moreover a chapel for the god of the *puseh* in the *pura bale agung*. At other times there is no separate *pura puseh*, but a place is reserved for it on or next to the grounds of the *pura bale agung*. In this latter case there is always a clear boundary separating the two, whether it is a stone wall, a wall of bamboo, a simple elevation of the ground, or a hedge. The *pura dalem*, too, can be represented in various ways. It is often to be found in front of the main entry to the *pura bale agung*, reduced to a single pavilion or

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bale. Since the *pura bale agung* is *kaja*-oriented, the *bale* representing the *pura dalĕm* consequently lies *kĕlod*.

In some of the old mountain villages the system is condensed even further, with the benches inside and/or outside the gate of the *bale agung* serving as places of worship for the lord of the dead. In making offerings to this god one turns *kĕlod*, that is to say one sits facing the gate, thus with one's back to the gods of the *pura bale agung* itself. The direction in which the offerings are made – *kaja* for the upper-worldly gods in the *pura bale agung* and the *pura puseh*, and *kĕlod* for the nether-worldly forces of the *pura dalĕm* – is in keeping with the nature of the offerings. The sacrificial animals, too, are very clearly distinguished in *kaja* (upper-worldly) and *kĕlod* (nether-worldly) offerings.

Sometimes a *titi gonggang* is to be found either in front of the *pura bale agung* or near the graveyard. The *titi gonggang* consists of a bamboo or a plank over a pit, and signifies the border between life and death. In various cases this 'hell bridge' or 'soul bridge' is used in trials by ordeal: if the person accused of a crime can walk across it without faltering or falling he is declared innocent. The bridge is mentioned in various eschatological texts, and is almost certainly a synthesis of early indigenous and Hinduized thought. Compare, for example, the reference in the *upanisads* to the bridge of the soul, the path of which is as sharp as the razor's edge.

Inside various old-style *puras bale agung*, then, one finds a *pura dalĕm* abridged into two *bales* at the entry, or in other cases in front of the *pura bale agung* a condensed *pura dalĕm* with or without a *titi gonggang*. Another *bale* having to do with nether-worldly forces, but one which has not yet been satisfactorily explained, is the *bale pĕgat*, an open pavilion split into two halves. Now the *bales agung* are themselves sometimes split, occasionally even twice, but I am here concerned with the *bale pĕgat* as it is to be found in several traditionalistic mountain villages, and also in the three chief temples of the Bĕsakih complex. In each of the central temples of Bĕsakih – Pĕnataran Agung (for the whole of Bali), Dangin Krĕtĕg (for Karangasĕm), and Batu Madĕg (for Bangli)[19] – there is

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621 Of the eighty villages in Buleleng on which Liefrinck provides
184 information in his excellent *desa* monographs,[48] thirteen are of this type. Eight other villages meet only at full moon in the *pura bale agung*, while four villages manifest deviations: Tamblang holds a meeting in the *pura dalĕm* at new moon followed by a meeting in the *pura bale agung* the next day, the first of the month; Sidatapa and Chĕmpaga meet only on the seventh day of the waxing moon in the *pura bale agung;* and Lĕmukih, strangely enough, meets at new moon in the *pura bale agung*.

575 The newer types of *desas*, under Hindu-Javanese influence, meet
621 once every thirty-five days according to the Javanese-Balinese or *uku* calendar, preferably on Anggara Kasih (Tuesday-Klion), but occasionally on Wednesday-Umanis, sometimes in both temples and sometimes only in the *pura bale agung*. A few villages have other days such as Wednesday-Klion, Saturday-Klion, and Thursday-Umanis.

In Buleleng, however, many villages are of a mixed type, either with one meeting at full moon and one on an *uku* day or one at new moon and the other on an *uku* day. The full-moon gathering is always in the *bale agung*, and the new-moon assembly always in the *pura dalĕm*.

575 The religious character of these meetings is perfectly obvious
621 from the situation in the oldest villages, with their two meetings
184 per Hindu-Balinese month, at full moon in the *pura bale agung* and at new moon in the *pura dalĕm*. The manner of seating strictly adhered to in all the older villages[49] confirms this character, as does also the prescribed clothing in many cases, for example in Tĕnganan, Bungaya, and Kubutambahan. Further evidence is the consecration required for members of the village administration in a great number of villages. This is sometimes very elaborate, with the consecration of the highest official (the *kĕbayan*) even more elaborate than that of the lower functionaries.

The meetings were originally religious gatherings at which the people came together as a *desa* community to discuss village affairs, those affairs being in the first place the festivals and ceremonies to be held. It was only much later that other subjects of a

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made of the large, open stone seat for the sun god (Batara Surya or Aditya), which seat has such various names as *padmasana*, *sanggar agung*, and *sanggar tawang* (the last two terms, however, are also used for temporary platforms of bamboo intended for offerings to Batara Surya).

Besides these and other lodgings for the gods in the inner court, there are also *bales* for preparing, arranging, and displaying offerings. The individual offerings are made ready at home, but communal offerings are prepared in the temple itself, or at least put together there. The altars for offerings have a wide variety of names; the most usual are *piasan* (chiefly northern Balinese) and *panggungan* (chiefly southern). Besides these offering altars there are also structures (*pĕruman*, *pĕsamuan*) in which the gods of a temple assemble to receive offerings or to begin a procession.

A few words should be added regarding the walls and gates of the temple. Particular attention is devoted to the walls, which are an essential part of the sanctuary, since they serve to define its limits. They are often provided with columns at the corners and pilasters at intermediate points. The parts of the wall between the columns are decorated with lovely pieces of sculpture. There are at the present time two types of temple gates, the roofed *paduraksa* and the split, unroofed *chandi bĕntar*.[5]

Many northern Balinese temples deviate in one particular respect from the type of temple described above. That is in the arrangement of the inner court. Particularly the temples of the dead and the agrarian sanctuaries of northern Bali display a quite remarkable arrangement of the divine lodgings in the inner court. In front of the rear wall is an elevated section with two or three terraces. On the highest terrace there are closed stone structures (*gĕdongs*) to the left and the right, with an open stone seat between them.[6] Access to the two buildings and the seat is provided by three separate flights of stone stairs.

Besides this description of the 'ordinary' type of Balinese temple, actually the more recent type, mention should be made of several striking differences to be found in the more traditional *puras bale*

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(as has already been pointed out, the Old Balinese documents use the three-day system), and also in official Balinese documents today, is the six-day week, the five-day, then the seven-day. The divisions into one, two, four, eight, nine, and ten-day weeks need not be considered here, since they have no significance for the calendar of holidays.

After these brief remarks on the two calendars it may be considered which festivals fall on a Hindu-Balinese date and which on a Javanese-Balinese. First let us turn to the temple festivals.

The Hindu-Balinese calendar of twelve months is followed by the temples in the districts of Kintamani, Tejakula, and Jinĕng Dalĕm,[10] that is to say the northeastern and central mountainous sections of Bali. Then come the temples of Sawan and Buleleng, with some sixty per cent. of their festivals following the Hindu-Balinese calendar, and Tĕgallalang (the mountainous part of Gianyar, bordering on Kintamani) with fifty per cent. In all the other districts of Bali the Javanese-Balinese calendar is followed predominantly, in a proportion varying from sixty to a hundred per cent.

Roughly speaking, then, it can be said that the Klungkung–Gianyar–Badung–Tabanan area, thus the whole of central Bali, follows the Javanese-Balinese calendar, while the regions mentioned above, the regions where the influence of Majapahit and Gelgel has always been much weaker, tend to use the Hindu-Balinese calendar for their temple festivities.

Karangasĕm falls outside either of these groups, in that it presents a very mixed picture. There are many Hindu-Balinese calendar days, but especially in the mountain regions there is a remarkable mixture of temple and harvest festivals not to be found anywhere else.[11] The Karangasĕm calendar of temple festivals requires separate treatment, for which this is hardly the place. The festivals also have different names there from those they have elsewhere: *usaba* (Sanskrit *utsawa*), for example, which in the rest of Bali denotes a harvest festival in the agrarian temples, is the ordinary word for the temple anniversary in Karangasĕm.[12]

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Turning from the temple festivals to the other calendar holidays, we find that only Nyĕpi is now celebrated according to the Hindu-Balinese year, while all other festivals follow the Javanese-Balinese calendar.[13]

Nyĕpi is the Hindu-Balinese new year falling at the beginning of the tenth month, Kadasa. It actually comprises three days, beginning with the preceding day, Tilĕm Kasanga, the new moon at the end of the ninth month, Kasanga, when offerings[14] are placed at the crossroads. These offerings consist of two very distinct groups, those for the gods of the upper world and those for the nether-worldly deities. The celestial offerings are in this case all sorts of items placed on a very high platform in the east with a somewhat lower platform for the officiating *pĕdanda* facing it, thus in the west. These offerings are for the sun god, Surya. The magic line west–east (the *pĕdanda* is seated with his face to the east) is crossed, but not intersected, by a line from south to north at a lower level. This north–south line is the line of the nether-worldly forces.

The *sĕngguhu*[15] is seated in the south with his face to the north, while the nether-worldly offerings intended for Wisnu as the god of the nether world, or if one prefers for the *butas* and *kalas*, are spread out on the axis of this system. In this case, then, Wisnu, as the god of the north and the nether world, is identified with Kala and Durga. The offerings are arranged in the ritually prescribed pattern according to the four directions around the centre: in the east a white goose, in the south a red dog, in the west a yellow calf, in the north a black goat,[16] and in the centre a varicoloured chicken. At the end of the ceremony the hearth fire for the new year, holy water, and consecrated rice are distributed to the neighbourhood heads (*klihans banjar*), who then pass portions on to the heads of households and compounds. In Bangli this ritual is followed by a lively fire battle which is now played by small boys but in earlier days was undoubtedly fought out by members of the *banjar*.[17]

The next day is the actual day of silence: no light or fire is permitted, no one may be on the streets, and all work is stopped. The

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third day there can be light and fire, but work remains at a standstill. At the next full moon, at least in Buleleng, the gods are purified at the seashore.

There are deviant customs in various regions. In Bangli, for example, one may go walking on Nyēpi Day, but nothing may be carried, no errands may be done, and (in connection with the fire prohibition) smoking is not allowed. In Sēmaon, a mountain *desa* in Payangan, Nyēpi is celebrated in quite a different way: there everyone in the *desa* goes to the ricefields, where a sort of *desa* picnic is held and for that one day all erotic restrictions are dropped – the which is reminiscent of European medieval carnival festivities.[18]

All the other festivals follow the Javanese-Balinese calendar. The first of them, Sunday-Paing of the week of Sinta, thus the first day of the Javanese-Balinese year, is called Banyu Pinaruh (1). Late at night or towards daybreak the celebrants go to a spring to wash their hair. Then they proceed to the house of the *pēdanda* to ask for holy water.

The next day (Monday-Pon) no rice may be husked or sold. Offerings are made to all the utensils and equipment having to do with rice, and homage is paid to Batara Trimērta, the trinity. (In some *lontars* one finds *Srimērti*,[19] which is perhaps possible if one should read *Sri smērti*, 'in memory of Sri [the goddess of the rice]', but it seems to me rather improbable.) The day is called Soma Ibĕk (2), 'full Monday'.[20] The following predictions are associated with the devotions performed on Soma Ibĕk: the person who does homage with his face to the west will make a profit in business. Whoever turns his face to the northwest will find good fortune; to the east, misfortune and illness threaten him; to the southeast, he will experience pleasant things; to the south, he will be robbed; to the southwest he will acquire health. (North and northeast are lacking in the series.) It is prohibited to sleep during the daytime on Soma Ibĕk.

On Tuesday-Wage offerings are made to all gold and silver objects and to precious stones. The day is called Sabuh Mas (3),

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769 184 It hardly needs to be said that in all this there are substantial local variations in conception and terminology. There is, however, general agreement that the nomenclature used for the souls of the dead varies according to the degree to which their ties to the material, earthly world have been loosened. The souls of the dead for whom there has been no cremation ceremonial (or a ceremonial of like significance in areas where cremation is not customary) are not considered to be deified. At set times offerings are made to them, for example at the bedstead, and at the altar or temple to the deity Prajapati near the graveyards, but no place is given them in the household temples. (There are local exceptions to this rule, though they do not affect the general principle. In some villages in Klungkung, for example, one finds the *pituutan*, literally *dependance*, a small shrine built onto the household temple and meant for the not-yet-purified ancestors. Elsewhere, in eastern Karangasĕm, it sometimes happens that offerings are made to ancestors in the undeified stage at the base of the *paiban* or the *sanggah kĕmulan*.)

Ancestors who have not yet been purified are distinguished from deified ancestors in customary terminology, the two types being referred to as *sang pitra* and *sang pitara* respectively. The specific nature of the latter category is sometimes further defined as 'who are already purified'. The extent to which the ceremonies following cremation have been completed determines the degree to which the souls of the ancestors are considered to have been merged in the deity. For rulers and other prominent personages these ceremonies ought to find their culmination and conclusion in *maligya*, the ceremony in which the soul is transported to the highest heaven.

Absorption in the deity takes place particularly in connection with the Hindu trinity of Brahma, Wisnu, and Iswara. There would also appear to be an indigenous Balinese trinity of the male and female ancestors together with Surya, the sun god. Moreover there is a certain relationship between the worship of the ancestors and that of Sri and Sĕdana, the deities of the harvest and of wealth. Mention has already been made of the cult of the

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ancestors as the founders of the social order, the pioneers, and the bringers of Majapahit culture.

The various forms of ancestor worship are tied up with the emanation theory of the creation of the world, which is a living reality for broad circles of the Balinese people. Stated in general terms, that theory amounts to this: there was initially an undifferentiated chaos, from which the world of phenomena developed by means of emanations constantly falling apart into their constituent parts. As it is frequently put, in something of an oversimplification, there was originally the asexual, which divided into male and female, from which came the rest of creation. The asexual and undifferentiated are personified in the figure of Sang Hyang Tunggal, who as the Inconceivable or Sang Hyang Achintia also belongs to the realm of the unmanifested.

Man is a part of creation, and as such is bound to the manifested world in his way of thinking. It is impossible for him to form any notion of the essence and the quality of things belonging to the unmanifested. The undifferentiated, which is in reality inconceivable, appears to him primarily as a manifestation called Siwa. This manifestation forms the centre of the universe, from which are emanated the eight guardians of the directions (*astalokapala*), each of whom has control over one specific section of creation. These eight gods, together with Siwa as the central point from which they emanate, look after the balance in the cosmic order. Such a system of nine gods is known as the *nawa-sanga*. Sometimes it is expanded to eleven, with Paramasiwa at the zenith and Sadasiwa at the nadir. A reminiscence of the belief that the ten gods arranged around the centre are considered as emanations of Siwa is the fact that the eleven-god system is sometimes referred to as the eleven Rudras (Rudra is a manifestation of Siwa).

The *nawa-sanga* plays an important rôle in religious life on Bali. The guardians of the directions are symbolic of the cosmos, the ordered universe. The Balinese view of the universe is dominated by the notion of the relation between the macrocosmos and the microcosmos: the cosmic pattern is repeated in all creation. Hence the *nawa-sanga* is frequently used as a symbol to indicate

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the revolution must be directed not only against foreign domination, but also against feudalism, it was easy to find in stories of this purport an element from which nationalism could borrow its weapons and the means to glorify itself.

All the more comic, then, was the *dénouement* when the *dewa agung* conferred his sanction on the whole matter by claiming Jayaprana for himself, as it were. Many a person in northern Bali who had watched with some apprehension the development of Jayaprana into the symbol for those who had fallen in the resistance gave their blessing to the *dewa agung*'s unannounced appearance.

Naturally this interpretation of the figure of Jayaprana by the *dewa agung* brought no unity among the diverse opinions. The fact must be accepted that one's view of Jayaprana is determined by the place that one occupies in Balinese society. Hence different opinions can exist independently of one another.

What, for example, did the *pĕdandas* think when they discovered that the *desa* people were making preparations to cremate their own highly revered forefather, the great and first *pĕdanda* of Bali? The president of the recently established Paruman Para Pandita, or Association of Pĕdandas, had requested the members to consult with him before accepting an invitation from the *desa*. Yet four or five *pĕdandas* openly took part in the ceremonies. Thus there was nothing else for it but to declare that the Ida Batara Sakti Wau Rauh of Kaliangĕt is a different person from the *pĕdanda* Nirartha of Gelgel.

There is a group of Balinese who find this whole cult an expression of a religious form no longer appropriate in these times. They see in it above all the many features of the authentic village religion, which is still so powerful that every protest against it is nipped in the bud. The village mentality and the abundantly practised trance also trouble them. Moreover, the village scoffs at all data from literature and propagates its own findings of the moment with a fanatical belief, not knowing itself what the final result of it all will be.

There is another group, undoubtedly by far the largest one, whose members, without giving any further critical thought to

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the matter, accept willingly the worship of Jayaprana, thus acting as they would in regard to every village festival, at the same time feeling that this festival cycle answers completely a need which they have felt since the war. For instance, Jayaprana sanctioned the *joged* in its most rude, primitive form, a form which, however, corresponds excellently with the passions which the spirit of the resistance has awakened in the youth. Jayaprana brought about an enormous festival in which the atmosphere of any number of folk tales was made a reality. People shook off the disagreeable things of difficult modern times and felt completely at home, near to each other and near to the divine: the earth exceeded its bounds and became heaven. Jayaprana drew all divine power to himself, dominated all thought, and showed himself to be extremely jealous, but also blessed all who venerated him, helped the sick and the tradespeople, and spread his favour over the whole of Bali. It is no great cause for surprise when such a folk hero appears as a *batara*.

There is, however, also a group of people who have detected a new perspective and are developing it. The members of this group grew up during the Japanese occupation and the ensuing struggle for freedom against the Japanese, and later the Dutch, armies. As early as the Japanese period, however, they had more or less turned against their own traditional forms of government, and they say: 'Jayaprana, he is we ourselves. Formerly the ruler was worshipped, but now is the time for *kĕmĕrdekaan*, for freedom; the homage is now for the people.' Hence it was suggested that 17 August, the anniversary of the declaration of independence in 1945, could now be celebrated openly on Bali, thanks to Jayaprana. (Permission for celebration of the day happened to be given by the government of the federal state of East Indonesia precisely during the festival at Kaliangĕt.) For this group the festival was the festival of national heroes.

This is not to say that this religious nationalism is already moving in a definite direction. Traditional beliefs have changed into the most modern pagandom, at least within a certain group, but it is by no means fixed. It will still be able to be exploited as much by

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There is little hunting and fishing as an occupation. Nets, snares, and traps are used in hunting, primarily to catch chevrotains, which are to be found in abundance near the boundary with the *desa* of Dauh Tukad. The Tĕngananese girls are very fond of the *dedes rase*, so that the young fellows, especially, concentrate on catching this musk-deer.

There is practically nothing done in the way of handicrafts (with the single exception of weaving) in Tĕnganan. I counted only twelve carpenters, two wood and stone workers, and one smith in the village. The smith comes from the village of Tunggak, and is bound to the *desa* by a permanent debt. The Tĕngananese smiths of earlier times have moved to the *pande* village of Bratan. The dwellings display little that is artistic; only a few temple gates have been given a certain amount of decoration by artists from other villages. Nowadays, however, there are several skilled wood carvers in the village.

The dwellings are to a very large extent covered with coconut leaf. The roofing is done by persons from other *desas*, who also provide the material. If a roof is to be covered with *alang-alang*, however, other members of the *desa* are asked to help. As was pointed out, the *bale buga* must have a roof either of coconut leaf or sugar-palm fibre, which latter is very expensive. Plaiting and the making of bricks and pottery are prohibited activities, though the women are allowed to glaze ceramics made elsewhere.

So-called Tĕngananese fabrics are popular throughout Bali and among all tourists. It is, however, not so well known that these fabrics are made only in Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan, and not, for example, in the nearby *desas* of Tĕnganan Dauh Tukad and Tĕnganan Pasĕdahan. Hence the Balinese themselves rightly call the fabrics *gĕringsing*, though Europeans always speak of Tĕngananese cloths.[14] It is frequently said that the reddish-brown colour which gives the fabrics such a warm glow beside the black and yellow was originally obtained with human blood. In Tĕnganan itself, however, this is emphatically denied. As far back as can be remembered the dye has been obtained from Nusa Pĕnida, and the

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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task of the *patus* association for members who cremate their dead. The members of the *desa* of Tĕnganan proper do not cremate their dead and have no *patus* association.

DRAMA AND MUSIC ASSOCIATIONS

The prohibition in the *desa* constitution has been an obstacle to the rise of drama and music associations. In earlier times the stipulation was considered as an absolute prohibition, but recently the idea has developed that such associations may be founded, though the *desa* considers them as non-existent and does not arbitrate in case of differences. In Western terms one might say that the *desa* refuses to recognize their corporate capacity. The associations arising on this basis lead a languishing existence in Tĕnganan.

In Kĕstala the situation is quite the opposite. There the fact that the *bale kulkul* is a shed with a whole series of signal blocks is enough to indicate that there are a number of associations. Besides the *patus*, *bĕdigul*, and *pĕnyakap* associations mentioned above, there are also several music associations, including a *sĕkaha angklung*, which uses traditional bamboo instruments.

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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meeting except instalments of a life-long fine, which are collected at home.

The services requisitioned by the *desa* are almost all of them connected with religious matters. The preparation of the offerings demands a great deal of work, which must be done by the male members of the *desa*. A person who fails to fulfil his duty is fittingly punished, and even those who are prevented by illness from performing their services are confined to their homes for three days. The men also have the duty of appearing with their fighting cocks on certain occasions, and the women *desa* members are required to rear pigs to be sold to the *desa* for fixed low prices in order to be used in the purification rites.

These duties of *desa* membership are counterbalanced by certain advantages. Everyone who takes an active part in the *desa* offering ceremonies enjoys the yield from a *bukti*. The *desa* members, including the officials, have a different share each year; the plots for the others are fixed *sawahs*. Since the number of core villagers is variable, the number of *buktis* differs from year to year, and hence also the number of plots left over as *chariks achi*.

Each of the *pĕngluduhans* except the newest pair has as his share two and a half plots, while the two most recent *pĕngluduhans* have four plots each for the first year. *Desa* members of the higher ranks also have four plots each. The shares are reapportioned each year on the first day of Kasanga, the ninth month. On this date the *desa* members gather in front of the *bale agung*, where the *klihans bahan* sketch a rough map of the *buktis* and in order of seniority the members make their choice. (Nowhere else on Bali is a map used in this way.)

A newly married person does not receive a share until the next apportionment, while if, as a result of the marriage of a child, a man loses his *desa* membership before the rice is ripe, he forfeits his right to his yield, which instead goes to the *desa* treasury. Consequently most marriages take place in the month of Kasa, when the rice is golden yellow in the fields – this in contrast to the rest of Bali, where marriages usually take place after the harvest, because there is then money for the wedding.

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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spring equinox), and the later Roman Christian year, beginning with the first of January, that is to say two and a half months earlier.

29 *Cf.* the Watu-Gunung legend, for example at the beginning of the *Babad Tanah Jawi*.

30 Some Balinese take the two extremes, thus obtaining a period of forty-five days (35 + 10). In Bangli the period runs from Saturday-Pon in Dungulan to Saturday-Pon in Paang.

31 See Liefrinck, *Bali*, 205–208, who makes a distinction between *sakti kémulan* and Dalém Kémênuh, and mentions Dewi Sri as a third *rambut-siddana*. *Cf.* also Goris, "Secten", 47.

32 The text of this wayang play is published in Van Stein Callenfels, "Kunst".

33 *Cf.* the Lorelei legend, in which the combing of the hair also leads to misfortune.

34 The reverse complex – marriage between father and daughter – is to be found in any number of folk tales in which Rawana is the father of Sita.

The Consecration of a Priest

1 There are, for instance, disquisitions in the *Bodakdchapi* on diagnosis, in the *Usada Paribasa* on the meanings of the names for illnesses, in the *Usada Dalém* on healthful foods, in the *Anda* on smallpox, and in the *Bodatuwa* on venereal diseases.

2 Goris, *Bijdrage*. For what follows, see p. 144.

3 *Cf.* Van der Tuuk, *Woordenboek*, I, 225. [Editorial note]

4 Kern, *Buddhisme*, I, 424.

5 Van der Tuuk, *Woordenboek*, IV, 111, where the spellings *prêwita* and *pêrwita* are given.

6 *Ibid.*, IV, 660.

7 Juynboll, *Woordenlijst*, 178.

8 Van der Tuuk, *Woordenboek*, IV, 518.

9 *Ibid.*, IV, 303.

10 *Ibid.*, IV, 237.

11 *Ibid.*, IV, 76.

12 Van Eck, *Proeve*, 238.

13 On this evolutionary series, see Goris, *Bijdrage*, 94.

14 The *karaboda* is not known in Buleleng, but informant felt that the ritual performed there with the *kusasparsa* (twisted blades of grass above the handle of the holy-water sprinkler of *alang-alang*) during the consecration has the same significance of symbolic purification as that performed with the *karaboda* in southern Bali.

15 For a detailed treatment of the *pênugrahan*, see De Kat Angelino, *Bali*, 25 and Plate V.

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178 lands were being sold at auction. Newly acquired luxuries — imported articles — took their precious cash, and at first the situation seemed desperate. We feared we had made a mistake in
114 returning, and to escape the tourist-ridden, commercial Den Pasar, we went to live with our friend Spies in his beautiful house in Tjampuan, in the mountains near Ubud. We remained there for a few months among new Balinese friends, guided by the experience of Spies, working and collecting the material for this book.

But we missed our old friends and the activity of our former
114 village home. We were convinced that it was in the district of
123 Badung around Den Pasar, despite the superficial changes, that the most sumptuous feasts were held and dances and plays were most frequent. I had now a teacher and translator who gave me daily lessons and helped with manuscripts. With Spies and the teacher, we moved the entire household back to Belaluan, to our old house, the home of Gusti Oka, who had in the meantime married a new wife, a beautiful young princess. Our dear friend Siloh Biang, Gusti's first wife, had fought with Sagung, her rival, and had run away to her mother, but our return brought Siloh Biang back. She preferred to remain with us in our part of the house rather than with Gusti and his new wife, and we often had to act as mediators in their family quarrels. At times this created difficult diplomatic situations. Some of our old friends had died, others had married or moved away, and the little dancers who only left our front porch to go to bed at night had grown into serious young women of thirteen or fourteen years of age. We became again members of the quarter of the village, the *bandjar* of Belaluan, home of one of the finest orchestras on the island, the *gong belaluan*, of which Gusti was a member. We had open door to the frequent local festivals, and within our compound we had opportunity to observe the daily life of the Balinese and to collect first-hand information for this book. The details given
114 here, however, cannot be taken as applying to the entire island;
184 each community has its own code, and what is law in one place

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is often ignored in the next. No two festivals are carried out in exactly the same manner and there are no two temples exactly alike. The general principles are the same everywhere, but the details vary from place to place and from caste to caste, and the traditions of the ancient mountain villages are different from those of the districts under the influence of the former rulers; to note them all would require an entire book for each custom or ceremony.

Not having made a systematic study of anthropology or of Oriental religions, the objective of this book is limited to the attempt to present a bird's-eye view of Balinese life and culture, both of which are inextricably bound to their deeply rooted beliefs and to their logical and harmonious living. The Balinese still retain their traditions and hold to their own manner of life, but they are only too willing to adopt every new idea, good or bad, brought into their island by merchants, tourists, unsuitable education, and missionaries. The only aim of this book, therefore, is to collect in one volume all that could be obtained from personal experience by an unscientific artist, of a living culture that is doomed to disappear under the merciless onslaught of modern commercialism and standardization.

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noses, and fine mouths; others have the concave, flat, broad noses, the squinty eyes, bulging foreheads, and prognathic jaws of the more primitive Indonesians. Thus the Balinese of today are the same people as the Hindu-Javanese of pre-Mohammedan Java, in the sense that they both underwent the same racial and cultural influences.

THE ANCIENT SURVIVAL: THE BALI AGA

At one time the island was populated by pure Indonesians, an ancient people who filed and blackened their teeth. They lived in small communities, family clans ruled by a council of Elders who acted as the priests of their religion. Their cult centred in the worship of the powerful spirits of nature, and especially those of their ancestors, with whom they continued to live, a great family of both the dead and the living. Occasionally, by means of mediums and sacrifices, they brought their ancestral spirits down to this earth to protect them. They buried their dead or simply abandoned them in the jungle to be carried away by the spirits, and it is possible that they even ate parts of the bodies in order to absorb the magic power inherent in their ancient headmen.

The pure descendants of these people, calling themselves Bali Aga or Bali Mula, the "original" Balinese, still live, isolated and independent, in the mountains where they found refuge from imperialistic strangers. Hidden in the hills of East Bali, near Karangasem, lies the village of Tenganan, where the most conservative of the Bali Aga preserve the old traditions with the greatest zeal. Tenganan is a rabidly isolated community, socially and economically separate from the rest of Bali, almost a republic in itself. It is shut off from the world by a solid wall that surrounds the entire village, which is meant to keep outsiders away, and is broken only by four gates, each facing one of the cardinal points. Of these gates, three open to the gardens and plantations of the village, but the main gate is so narrow that a stout person has difficulty in squeezing through. Such is the obsession for

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184 361 [609] isolation in Tenganan that there is an official specially appointed to sweep the village after the visits of strangers, to obliterate their footprints. Such is the obsession for

[115] We became acquainted with I-Tanggú, a youngish man with fingernails four inches long, who was the *perbekel* of Tenganan, the representative of his village with the Dutch Government. We were surprised to find him quite sociable. Once we played host to him in Den Pasar and from then on we were often invited to visit Tenganan. Unlike the rest of the villages in Bali, there is hardly any vegetation around the Tenganan houses, which are all exactly alike and are arranged in rows on each side of stone-paved avenues. In the central place is the council house where the Elders meet, a long shed about ten feet wide by some seventy feet long, strongly built and apparently very old. Farther along are other buildings for public use, the purpose of some kept a secret. The most curious are the unique mill for grinding *kemiri* [252] nuts to obtain oil, and the wooden Ferris-wheel, usually dis- [788] mantled, in which the women revolve for hours in a strange rite. The dwelling of I-Tanggú is just like all the others: a small gate 342 reached by a flight of steps leads into a court in which are the sleeping-quarters, the kitchen, and a long house for relatives and [775] for storage. There is also a small empty shrine where the spirits may rest when they visit their descendants.

184 The people of Tenganan are tall, slender, and aristocratic in a [42] rather ghostly, decadent way, with light skins and refined man- [302] ners. The majority of the men still wear their hair long. They are proud and look down even on the Hindu-Balinese nobility, who respect them and leave them alone. They live in a strange 423 communistic or, rather, patriarchal-communalistic system in which individual ownership of property is not recognized and in which even the plans and measurements of the houses are set and alike for everybody. The village of Tenganan owns communally enormous tracts of fertile and well-cultivated lands that fill every need of the village and make it one of the richest in the

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462 The aristocratic com-
munists of Tenganan go to the plantation only to make tuak, beer
[273] from sugar palms.

On the way down the hill, I was allowed a glimpse of the sacred
778 temple of Tenganan, of which we had heard mysterious reports. It was a small enclosure under a great banyan tree surrounded by a low wall of uncut stones roughly piled up. Inside were a few mounds of the same stones, reminiscent of altars, and in one of them there was a larger stone with what appeared to be a natural
[609] cavity. I could not go into the enclosure because no outsider is ever permitted to enter it. I-Tanggú could not divulge the purpose of such a primitive "temple" and could not even name the deities worshipped there, but he added mysteriously that there were three of them! It seems extraordinary that this pile of stones is the only sacred, "essential" place of worship for the Tenganans, who are expert carvers and fine artists.[8]

Just outside the village I had seen a regular Balinese-style
184 temple with fine roofs and elaborate carvings, but this, I-Tanggú
346 said with contempt, did not mean much to them and was more
778 for the use of their Balinese guests and coolies, perhaps as a concession to the official cult of the island, so that they would not be considered as savages, people without a "proper" temple.

[184] [8] This extraordinary village must not, however, be taken as a typical Bali Aga community. Tenganan was deliberately cut off from the natural development of the rest of Bali and remains today a unique, rabidly conservative, and strictly tribal community that seems to take pride in doing things "differently," even from the rest of the Bali Agas. Institutions that are the very essence of Balinese culture, such as the shadow-plays (*wayang kulit*), are unknown, while others are even forbidden. Many rites and festivals peculiar to Tenganan do not exist elsewhere.

[177] Dr. E. V. Korn has made an exhaustive study of the Tenganan people (*De doorpsrepubliek Tnganan Pagringsingan*), but their religious concepts remain obscure, perhaps even to the Tenganans themselves. Like the other Balinese they worship the Gunung Agung and rule their life by the eternal principle of orientation — high and low, right and left. They venerate shapeless stones (*batú menurun*), considered to be the fragments of the famous horse of Outjé Seraya, stones that are the symbols of "origin" of totemic groups that are sharply divided into "right" and "left." The people of Tenganan were influenced by distorted ideas from an early
[177] version of pre-Madjapahit Hinduism and have a vague notion of the Hindu Trinity, headed, however, by Indra, generally a minor deity, who is to the Tenganans the same as Siwa-Iswara, the supreme god, "Lord of the Centre," with the *kubu* (home) of "Sanghyang" (Brahma) at the right and that of "Idjeng" (Wisnu) at the left. One of their lonely temples, or, rather, tabooed enclosures, is supposedly the reflection on this earth of the heavenly lake of Indra.

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into the dye, so that the tied part remains uncoloured to produce the design. This is repeated with each colour, the part already dyed also protected by the fibre binding. When the threads are finally coloured and ready to be woven, the design of the weft is fitted exactly into the one on the warp, and a mistake spoils the work of years. Taking into consideration the laboriousness of the dyeing, the painstaking, difficult weaving, and the mystery that surrounds the secret process, it is easy to understand why the popular mind has endowed the *kamben gringsing* with such extraordinary powers. In Tenganan the scarfs are an essential part of ceremonial dress, and I-Tanggú told me that if he sold his he would lose his place in the village council. Only the finest scarfs are worn in Tenganan; imperfect ones or those in which the dyes fail to produce the required tones are sold to outsiders.

In North Bali, on the slopes of the Batur, above Tedjakula, is the Bali Aga village of Sembiran, where even the daily language is different from that of the rest of Bali. There, as in Tenganan, the " temple " is a group of rough stone altars surrounded by a neglected fence. It is hidden in the jungle near the edge of a deep ravine, a dangerous haunted place, where not even the people of Sembiran would venture alone. In Sembiran the dead are not buried; after washing the corpse, it is wrapped in new cloth, carried to the edge of the ravine, and deposited on a bamboo platform with offerings, consecrated water, and the belongings of the deceased. There it is left for three days; if, after that, it has not disappeared, this means that the spirits did not care to take it, so it is thrown unceremoniously into the ravine to be eaten by wild beasts.

There are many other mountain villages that have resisted the influence of Hinduism. Although not as extraordinary as Tenganan and Sembiran, they are equally conservative Bali Aga, like Trunyan on the shores of Lake Batur, where the largest statue in Bali is kept, that of Ratú Gedé Pantjering Djagat, powerful patron guardian of the village. There is Taro, the home of Kbó Iwá, a fearful giant of pre-Hindu days who was so great that there

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was never enough food to feed him and he went about eating people. To provide him with a place to sleep, the villagers of Taro built the longest council house in Bali. He is supposed to have carved all the ancient monuments and sculptured caves with his own fingernails. In the highlands between the Batur and the Bratan, the Gunung Agung and the Batukau, there are many Bali Aga villages, and in some, like Selulung, Batukaang, and Tjatur, there are remains of ancient and primitive monuments; stone statues and small pyramids, some of which are purely Indonesian in character, while others show early Hindu, perhaps Buddhist influence. In the Bali Aga villages there is much that remains of the ancient race who once inhabited all of Bali, but who were to become the fascinating Balinese of today.

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF BALI

It seems difficult to reconcile the soft-mannered, peace-loving Balinese we know with the intrigue and violence of their turbulent past. For a thousand years the history of the island is a series of wars and heroic episodes that reached a dramatic climax only thirty years ago when the Balinese made a desperate but futile last stand against a modern army.

Bali was under the rule of Javanese kings from the earliest days of Hindu Java, but we first hear of Balinese dynasties in the tenth century of our era. In 991 A.D. a child was born of a Balinese king and a Javanese princess. He was named Erlangga and was sent to Java to marry a princess and to become a local chief in the kingdom of his father-in-law. Dharmawangsa, the ruler, was murdered suddenly and Erlangga took charge, saving the kingdom from total collapse and bringing it into even greater glory. Erlangga ruled during thirty difficult years, creating a strong bond between Java and his native Bali, which was then governed by Erlangga's brother in his name. Then, as befits a model hero of Hindu ideas, Erlangga suddenly renounced the kingdom he had made great and died a hermit under the guidance of his religious teacher, Mpú Bharada. Erlangga's kingdom was nearly

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191 dreadful insult to speak of someone's head as tandas, meaning
564 the head of animals.
576 The type of language used in conversation is prescribed by one of the strict rules of caste etiquette, and the use of the wrong form is a serious offence. A prince has to be addressed as "highness" (*Ratú* or *Agung*), but he and the people of his caste talk to everybody in the low language, except perhaps to their parents, elder brothers, and members of the priestly caste, the Brahmanas. Polite people (not all high-born people are considered polite) are supposed to address old people in the high language.

198 There is still a fourth language, the Kawi, used on ritual occa-
191 sions, in poetry and classic literature. It is archaic Javanese, in which nine out of ten words are Sanskrit; but the knowledge of Kawi rests almost entirely with the priests and scholarly Balinese.

191 The language problem of Bali has been further complicated by the addition of Malay, now officially the language of the
178 Dutch East Indies. It is taught in the schools and is spreading rapidly among the Balinese youth because it is considerably simpler than the difficult Balinese and is free of the caste regulations. Thus a modern Balinese scholar would require five languages for social and cultural intercourse: the high, middle, and low Balinese, plus Kawi and Malay. Such a linguist is not rare today in Bali.

THE CASTES

564 The Hindu caste system as it is found today in Bali was not
177 firmly implanted until after the conquest by the famous Gadja Mada. Then Hindu-Javanese rule was definitely established and the island was divided into vassal territories paying tribute to the local princes that were given control. The natives lived under a
[565] class system of their own long before that time, however. They had their ranks, with a sort of aristocracy that combined government and priesthood.

● 184 Hindu-Javanese penetration did not reach many of the remote
564 mountain communities, which remained outside the feudal ter-

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ritories. There, even today, live the conservative old-fashioned Balinese, entrenched against the landlords, regarding them as intruders. In these villages the Hindu castes are not recognized and the descendants of the primitive aristocracy proudly retain their titles and their authority. At the top of the long list of native ranks are the *pasek* and the *bandesa*, the heads of the two central institutions of the old-style community: the temple of "origin," and the assembly hall, ritually belonging to the "right" and "left." I was told that a girl of these castes who marries a man of the Hindu aristocracy is publicly renounced by her family and spiritually "thrown out" of the village. Also held in respect are the blacksmiths, a caste in themselves, *pandé*, the ancient fire-priests who made the magic krisses, symbol of the family's virility. Even Brahmanas, highest among all classes, must use the high language when addressing a *pandé* who has his tools in his hands.

In the tributary districts the natives co-ordinated their castes with those of the new nobility, in a great scale of ranks that have now become so muddled through intermarriage that they appear confused even to the Balinese themselves. The original castes still remain as subdivisions of the fourth and lowest of the Hindu castes, the Sudras, who constitute about ninety-three per cent of the population of Bali.

The Hindu-Balinese nobility is divided into the three well-known groups: the priests, Brahmanas (Brahmins of India); the ruling royalty, Satrias (Ksatriyas); and the military class, Wesias (Vesiya). They are supposed to originate directly from the gods. According to the legends, the Brahmanas sprang out of the mouth of Brahma, the Satria from his arms, and the Wesia from his feet. Perhaps the reason why the common people look upon their nobility with such respect is that they have still an unshaken belief in their divine origin. The true Balinese religion consists mainly in the worship of the family ancestors, with the patriarch-founder of the village as the communal god. Thus it was easy for the conquerors to establish their own dead kings as ancestral gods, since they, too, descended from canonized kings and holy

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most of the night was spent watching cockfights, plays, and dances.

Most important of *bandjar* property is a little communal temple (*pamaksan*). If the *bandjar* grows beyond the function of village quarters, or "ward," its *pamaksan* temple may become a temple of "origin"; then they will build their formal village temple (*pura desa*), their temple of the dead, out in the cemetery, and, having the three reglementary temples (*kahyangan tiga*) that every complete community needs, they will ask for independence from the village and will become a full-fledged free *desa*.

In the old mountain villages the *desa* system has remained untouched by the influence of the princes. Before the advent of the Dutch, they controlled their states through district landlords, the Pungawas, usually members of the prince's family, who appointed lesser tax-collectors, the Perbekel, one in every village. A Perbekel ruled only with the interest of his master in mind, often disregarding the local *adat*, with the result that he was regarded as an intruder and remained a complete outsider in the affairs of the village. Thus the system was saved because these agents had to be content with collection of taxes and the enforcement of princely orders. But the Balinese could always find regulations to curtail the power of the princes, and if their demands interfered too much with traditional institutions, the people simply boycotted them and refused to obey.

Following the conquest of Bali, the Dutch found the *desas* divided into many small spheres of influence: the princes, the *desa* chiefs, *bandjar* heads, and so forth. In the hasty reorganization of the political system they centralized the Government for control of the complex conglomerate of *desas*, logically enough, following the system of the princes, creating Government districts headed by Dutch officials assisted by the former landlords. They preserved the prince (Regent), the Pungawa, and the Perbekel to see that the taxes were paid. Finding the *desa-bandjar* relationship incompatible with Western management, they re-

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243 527 When the grain is ripe, the subak members prepare for the *ng'usaba nini*, the great harvest festival. Cockfights are held again in the rice temple and the following day is declared *nyepi* for ricefields: a day of absolute stillness, requiring the suspension of all activity, when no one may enter a field under penalty of a fine. Two days before cutting the rice, small offerings are made to the irrigation inlet, and boughs of the *dapdap* tree, decorated with little faces of palm-leaf, are stuck at the four corners of the field to keep evil influences away. The next step is the making [782] of the Rice Mother (*nini pantun*), two sheaves of rice, one male, the other female, the Rice Husband and Wife.[2] The two sheaves are fastened together and tied to a branch, which is stuck in the ground near the main irrigation inlet. Then the cutting of the rice may proceed.

[462] [292] In Bali only men plant and attend to the rice, but women and even children help with the harvest. Everybody wears coats and great sun-hats of bamboo for protection against the burning rays of the sun. The line of reapers moves like a living row of enormous mushrooms, cutting the rice with small iron blades set in wooden frames, just large enough to be hidden in the palm of the hand. The stalks are cut one by one and tied later into huge bunches. When all the rice is cut, the Rice Mothers of the [292] various sawa-owners are dressed in a skirt of new white cloth held at the middle of the sheaf by a rope of white yarn, a small apron (*lamak*), and a silk scarf. The head-dress is represented by the ends of the stalks, ornamented with flowers and cut-out palm-leaf in the form of a fan, often with a human face added, drawn on a heart-shaped piece of palm.

[184] [2] The male is larger and consists of 108 stalks, while the female has only 54 stalks. The people of Badung agree that the sheaves are male and female, but in Ubud, Gianyar, they claim it is only female. They also make two sheaves, one larger than the other, but they are confused when pressed to explain the reason for the two sheaves. They call the *nini pantun* also by the names of *dewa padi* or *dewi istri*, "rice deity" or "divine wife." *Nini pantun* means simply "rice mother." Perhaps the association of feminine names and ideas has obscured the bisexual significance of the two sheaves. Van Eck says that the Rice Husband and Wife are ceremoniously wedded in the granary: "Increase ye and multiply without ceasing." I was told in Gianyar that the rice stalks used to make the mother should be stolen from various ricefields, but in Badung they appeared shocked at this idea.

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ate such things, but he remarked that it was well to keep it in mind anyway. Being of the highest caste and a priest besides, he could not touch the flesh of cows, bulls, and pork, eat in the streets or in the market, drink alcohol, or even taste the food from offerings from which the essence had been consumed by the gods. Members of the high nobility – Brahmanas and Satrias – are forbidden to eat beef, but many of the lesser Gustis do not mind eating it.

Outside of these prohibitions the common people eat everything that walks, swims, flies, or crawls. Chicken, duck, pork, and more rarely beef and buffalo are the meats most commonly eaten, but the people are also fond of stranger foods such as dragon-flies, crickets, flying ants, and the larvæ of bees. Dragon-flies were caught in a most amusing manner; boys and girls wandered among the ricefields waving long poles, the ends of which were smeared with a sticky sap. The supposedly "rank-conscious" dragon-flies must always stand in the highest branches and all the boy had to do was to hold the stick above the place where a fly stood; it flew onto the sticky end of the pole and was caught in the trap. Great numbers were obtained in this curious manner, their wings taken off, and the bodies fried crisp in coconut oil with spices and vegetables. Great delicacies are also the scaled ant-eater (*klesih*), the flying fox (a great fruit bat), porcupines (*landak*), large lizards (*alú*), wild boar, squids, rice birds, from the *glatek* to the minute *petingan*, which was eaten bones and all, and all sorts of crayfish. In every food-stand we saw small fried eels from the ricefields, looking suspiciously like shrivelled baby snakes. Although dogs are included in the list of what not to eat, they are eaten in some of the remote villages in Klungkung and Gianyar, but the rest of the Balinese will have nothing to do with people of such disgusting habits.

With meat eaten only occasionally, the diet of the Balinese consists, besides rice, corn, and sweet potato, of vegetables and fruits, of which they have a great variety. Besides eggplant, papaya, coconut, bananas, pineapples, mangoes, oranges, mel-

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304 881 house the day before and Van Eck tells of a Brahmanic rule that demands that the person remain in the dark for three days. The operation is performed by a specialist, generally a Brahmana, who knows formulas by which his tools – files and whetstones – are blessed "to take the poison out of them," to make the operation painless. The patient is laid on a *balé* among offerings, the head resting on a pillow which is covered with a protective scarf, *gringsing wayang wangsul*, one of the magic cloths woven in Tenganan, the warp of which is left uncut. The body is wrapped in new white cloth and assistants hold down the victim by the hands and feet. The tooth-filer stands at the head of the *balé* and inscribes magic syllables (*aksara*) on the teeth about to be filed with a ruby set in a gold ring. The filing then proceeds, taking from fifteen minutes to a half-hour, endured stoically with [147] clenched hands and goose-flesh, but without even a noise from the patient, who is given a rest from time to time, so that with the help of a mirror he can see the results. Often he makes suggestions and even complains when the teeth are not yet short enough.

During these pauses the patient spits the filings into a small "yellow" coconut adorned with a palm-leaf fan and flowers. When the filing is over, the boy or girl, paler than usual, but apparently not suffering pain, takes the coconut with the filings over to the family temple, where it is buried just behind the ancestral shrine. We questioned a girl who had just come out of the trying experience about her sensations and she assured us that she felt "shivers," but no pain; she seemed happier and smiled more freely than before.

184 882 836 Among the puritanical Bali Agas of the mountains, adolescent boys (*truna*) and girls (*daha*) are considered pure people not yet contaminated by sexual intercourse. In those ancient villages the inhabitants are divided into four separate clubs: of men, of women, and of "virgin" boys (*seka truna*) and girls (*seka daha*), whose purity is jealously preserved, since they have special rites to

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perform in the systematic village magic: the care of divine heir-looms too dangerous for less pure people to handle. Consequently, in the strict communities of the Bali Aga, sexual licence on the part of a boy or girl is a crime against the village magic and is proportionately punished.

This is not the case, however, among the ordinary Balinese villages, where boys and girls lead a freer sexual life. There matters of sex are not solemn, mysterious prohibitions, and it is natural that in coming of age they should continue to have sexual relations that started in the character of play, incompletely of course, during childhood.

The average Balinese does not attach great importance to virginity and it is not difficult for a divorcee, a widow, or even a woman who has committed adultery to marry again. Low-caste girls have many occasions to meet boys and often carry on affairs, kept secret because of natural shyness. The Balinese are extremely discreet in their intimate relations; lovers are never seen together in public, and it would be unpardonable manners for a man to make insinuations to a girl in public. It is not unusual for girls to take the lead and "make eyes" (saling sulang) at boys, or give encouragement to a shy suitor with some sort of small present.

Girls of high caste are usually chaperoned and their chances of meeting boys are considerably fewer. For the princes, whose mentality is more "Oriental" than that of the less prejudiced average Balinese, a virgin (gentan, in the absolute sense of the word) is highly desirable. Where feudalism still holds sway, a prince may order a subject of his to reserve his pretty daughter for him when she comes of age, and there are cases of Satrias and Brahmanas who kidnapped a girl of their own caste immediately after the first menstruation. Such cases are shocking to most Balinese, however, and there are rules and penalties against premature marriages. In general, the average marriageable age is eighteen for boys and sixteen for girls. A noble Balinese friend once told me that he could tell a virgin at first sight from the

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unhappy for a while even as among us, but soon he will forget her and fall in love with a less recalcitrant girl.

Should the man be accepted, the affair may be developed into attachment that will in most cases lead to marriage. It is not infrequent that the couple may live together – *gendak* – before marriage, although not exactly in sin, since *gendak* is permitted as a sort of a trial marriage, not yet made legal in public and before the gods. Often in a prearranged marriage the couple is allowed *gendak*, and there are regulations that protect the woman against desertion and that make children born in the *gendak* period legal. Even among the more puritanical Bali Agas *gendak* appears in the traditional village law, as in the following excerpt from the law of the village of Lumbuan in the Bangli mountains:

". . . the desa orders a man accused of intimacy with a woman to take her as wife, making the offerings and ceremonies mentioned above. Should the man refuse to marry her, he has to pay the *penyeheb* (a roast pig) and *tumbakan* (a cow), while the woman will pay only one *tumbakan* to clear her impurity and the pollution of the village (*sebel*). Should there result a child, it belongs to the woman. If it is not known who the man was, the woman is responsible and must provide the *penyeheb* and *tumbakan* within an allotted time." (*Bawanagara*, T. 11, No. 8/9, 1933.)

This attitude must not be interpreted as one of promiscuity; the Balinese like to marry young, and a man after love has usually marriage in view. However, a girl is not too easily persuaded and puts off her suitors, often too long, and the boy is either bored and leaves her or is obliged to use stronger methods.

Shy people who are after success in love may employ the services of professional matchmakers (*tjeti*) or those of a magician to make a reluctant girl yield. To appear beautiful in the eyes of a desired person certain amulets are employed, most often ancient Javanese bronze disks with a hole in the centre like Chinese coins, which are carried on the belt. Those used by men (*pipis ardjuna*) have an image in low relief of their semi-divine,

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839 land. Bestiality is so horrifying to the Balinese that they can only explain it as bewitchment on the part of the man, to whom the animal appears as a beautiful woman.

MARRIAGE

184 58 As with everything in Bali, marriage customs differ from district to district and from caste to caste; from marriages by free choice, and others prearranged by the parents, to kidnapping with violence. Often what is commonplace in one village is unknown in another, and no general rule can be established that applies to the entire island. I shall attempt, therefore, to give only a general outline of marriage practices and to note what we had opportunity to observe in the districts in which we lived: Badung and Gianyar. It is in detail, however, that the ceremonies vary; the fundamental principles for the different sorts of marriage remain the same everywhere.

584 583 *Ngrorod.* In Bali the honeymoon usually precedes the wedding; the average boy in love with a girl makes his marriage arrangements directly with her, and outside of his father, perhaps, and a few friends from whom he needs help, he keeps his intentions secret until the day, previously agreed upon between the boy and girl, when he will steal her. Shy couples simply run away together to the house of a friend, as a rule in another village, where they spend their honeymoon in hiding. But the Balinese love spectacular kidnappings. The girl arranges for her clothes to be taken secretly to their future hide-out, and on the appointed day she is captured somewhere on the road, in the fields, or in the river by the kidnapping party, led by her suitor. She is expected to kick and bite her abductors in sham self-defence, and although there may be witnesses, no one would dream of interfering, unless they are relatives of the girl, in which case they are supposed to put up a great fight. In Den Pasar it is stylish to rush the girl away by hired motor-car.

584 683 At her home, as soon as her disappearance is discovered, her

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terious Indonesian bronze age.[2] The Pedjeng drum is regarded with great reverence, and people often bring it offerings.

Another motif which appears to be of native origin is the figure called *tjilí*, a silhouette of a beautiful girl with a body shaped like a slim hour-glass (two triangles meeting at their apex), with rounded breasts, long thin arms, great ear-plugs, and wearing an enormous head-dress of flowers. *Tjilí* shapes are made in wood, of Chinese coins sewn together, woven into textiles, modelled in clay to surmount tiles for roofs, and made into clay banks for pennies. They are painted on rice cakes for temple ornaments in Selat, and made out of palm-leaf for certain agricultural ceremonies of the old mountain villages or as containers for the soul of the dead (*adegan*) for cremations. *Tjilís* form the central motif of *lamaks*, those beautiful but perishable ornamental strips of palm-leaf, about a foot and a half wide by some ten to twenty feet long, made for feasts by the women, pinned together with bits of bamboo strips of *busung*, the tender yellow blades of the sugar or coconut palm, taken from the tree before the leaf opens. This is decorated with a delicate geometric pattern, a mosaic of bits of the green leaf of the same palm, cut with a knife into elaborate ornaments which are pinned on the yellow background, forming borders like the ones on the Pedjeng drum, ornamental strips (*bebatikán*), groups of rosettes called "moons" (*bulán*), the *tjilí*, and a stylized tree (*kayon*). These magnificent ornaments, perhaps the purest examples of the Balinese native art, last only for one day, and after hanging for an afternoon on an altar or a rice granary, by evening they are completely wilted. Spies has collected every different type of *lamak* design for a period of years and he has hundreds of them. He claims that every community has a peculiar design not found elsewhere.

The figure of a *tjilí* seems to have a strange hold on the im-

[2] Heine-Geldern attributes the bronze drums and bronze weapons unearthed near Dông-Son in Northern Annam and Tonkin to a peculiar culture of the bronze age which he believes penetrated from northern into southern Asia not later than 300 B.C. and perhaps even as early as 600 B.C. He called this the Dông-Son culture.

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533 either approves or rejects the proposal, and there are no outbursts of artistic temperament.

The Balinese do not write down their music. I asked if it was not difficult to memorize such long and intricate compositions and was told that "when the piece has been rehearsed long

[516]

[826] enough, so that it has once entered into a man's liver, he plays it without thinking."

538 628 Often the group was visited by the leaders of famous orchestras from other villages who were invited as guests of the community to teach new compositions. The leaders of the gong Ringdikit from North Bali came to Belaluan to exchange pieces: while [184] they taught the dynamic and revolutionary style of the North, they learned the classical pieces of the South. The musicians of Belaluan, on the other hand, went to other villages to break in new organizations and were always lavishly entertained. Once in [545] our village we witnessed a contest between two famous gongs;

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796 Only a few people witnessed the ceremony because the ma-
787 jority were outside watching a play. Throughout the night mediums went into a trance and became possessed by the spirits of the *djero Taksú*, the "interpreter" of the deities, in order to inform the people if the offerings had been well received and to obtain advice from the gods. The medium was the *pemangku* himself, going into convulsions, rolling his eyes, and foaming at the mouth as the spirit of the *Taksú* entered his body, making incoherent guttural sounds which were taken as the voice of the spirit. Once I saw a *pemangku* become possessed by the spirit of some sort of tiger, growling and running on all fours in the temple yard under exploding firecrackers, picking up fire with his hands and eating the sparks. The medium came out of the trance painfully, and in an epileptic fit, as the spirit left his body. Gradually he calmed down, got up exhausted, and was helped out of the temple. The crowd remained divided, watching the
796 performances or talking in groups outside the temple, not much interested in the ceremonies or in the spectacular trances. Often, especially at the feasts of the death temples, they performed savage kris dances, which will be described later.

In Kengetan the *gong* played all night the stately, ancient music, and as dawn approached the old *pemangku* moved around quietly supervising things, putting out the lights and preparing for the final ceremony, the adoration of the rising sun, when *mendet* was danced again by middle-aged women and offerings were dedicated in the direction of the first rays of sun that appeared on the horizon. This ended the feast, and by morning, when the essence of the offerings had been consumed by the gods, the women came to collect their respective offerings and take them home.

184 Such is the general pattern along which a temple feast moves,
796 but, again, each community has its own way of doing things and no two feasts are carried out in exactly the same manner. Differences are particularly striking in the villages of the mountains, as in Paksabali and Bugbug, two communities in East Bali,

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where they stage wild battles of the gods, the *artjas*, which are placed inside baskets wrapped in *polén* cloth and topped with bunches of leaves. The baskets are firmly attached to bamboo stretchers carried by half-naked men who rush at full speed against others carrying "rival" deities, trying to knock each other down. A crowd armed with spears joins in the free-for-all while firecrackers explode, and everybody yells, pushes, and tramples everyone else. The excitement is followed by an equally mad kris dance.

GODS AND DEMONS: OFFERINGS AND EXORCISMS

Good and evil, right and left, gods and demons, are banded into two opposing factions, constantly at war, in which the weapons are their magic powers and the stakes the lives and interests of the Balinese themselves, compelling them to propitiate both sides so as not to attract the wrath of either party. Only by the proper balance between the negative and positive forces are they able to maintain the spiritual harmony of the community. This is particularly important at certain times, such as childbirth, menstruation, death in the village, or when a crime that disturbs the magic balance of the village has been committed; circumstances that weaken and pollute the protective life power of the individual or of the village and render them vulnerable to the attacks of evil.

The antithesis of the state of normalcy, of health and cleanliness (*sutji*, *éning*) is for a person or a community to be *sebel*, unclean, physically and spiritually polluted and run down, a condition that must be cured by cleansing factors and ceremonies to give added strength to the soul — the making of offerings, the use of purifying water and fire, and the recitation of secret magic words by a qualified priest, the three elements of Balinese ritual.

To counterbalance the healthy influence of the gods who produce cleanliness, luck, and fertility, there are evil spirits responsible for all illness and misfortune. Among the countless

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our flashlight revealed a gang of naked children beating empty gasoline cans.

The noisy torch parades swept over town until they were exhausted, long after midnight.

The following day, *nyepí*, was supposed to be one of absolute stillness, a day when no fires, no sexual intercourse, and no work of any sort were permitted. There was no traffic on the roads and only by special permit and the payment of a heavy fine could the cars of foreigners drive through a town. In most Balinese villages the people were not even allowed out of their houses, especially in North Bali, where the *nyepí* regulations are strict. In Den Pasar it was forbidden even to light a cigarette, but people went out visiting as on a holiday. Curious tug-of-war games (*med-medan*) were organized there for the amusement of the young people; in *bandjar* Kaliungú, men on one side, girls on the other, pulled a long rattan until one side defeated the other, but in *bandjar* Sesétan a shouting crowd of boys stood facing a group of girls; the boys charged as in a football game and captured one girl, who then had to be rescued by her friends in a rough free-for-all. Everybody tugged and pulled and the poor prisoner, wild-eyed and with her hair loose, was so roughly handled in the desperate effort to free her that she fainted. But someone walked over to her and unceremoniously emptied a bucket of cold water on her head so she would revive and the game could proceed; when the girl was rescued the men captured another. Although the unique game is not played outside of the neighbourhood of Den Pasar and then only on *nyepí* day, the Balinese insisted it had no significance of any sort and that its object was purely play.

THE CALENDAR

The calendar that regulates the social and religious life of Bali is an intricate mechanism by which not only all communal and private festivals are established, but even the most ordinary actions of the Balinese are determined. No Balinese can hope

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ADDITIONAL NOTES

346 1. *Balinese Temples.* Perhaps the aboriginal form of Balinese temple was a square of consecrated ground in which were erected sacrificial altars, piles of stones, surrounded by a rough stone fence. Temples of this sort are still to be found in Tenganan and Sembiran, two villages that preserve much of the ancient religion. There are temples along the coast in the vicinity of Sanur reminiscent of these primitive temples, like the one on the beach of Sindú that consists of rough pieces of coral in shapeless piles, with a number of primitive statues as the sole decoration. The owners afterwards added shrines of dressed stone; then lately, to be modern, they built altars of cement, resulting in what looks like an object lesson in the progress and evolution of Balinese temple architecture.

171 346 There is a strong Polynesian flavour in these primitive temples. Ralph Linton (*Ethnology of Polynesia and Micronesia*, The Field Museum, Chicago) says: "In the Cook groups the temples were usually stone enclosures or platforms often without houses. . . . In the Society group . . . they were low walled enclosures with a platform or pyramid at one end. . . . In the Marquesas there were two sorts of temples, the public ones . . . and the mortuary stone platforms which bore houses . . . that had excessively high roofs so that the early writers often refer to them as obelisks. In Hawaii . . . the most important temples were stone walled enclosures containing a number of houses for the priests and images. . . . None of the images or objects symbolizing the gods seem to have been considered divine in themselves. They were simple bodies which the gods could occupy at will." These striking similarities between the Balinese and Polynesian religious spirits extend into the cult, into the social organization, and even into the physical type of the Balinese.

184 346 The Bali Aga, who were never subjected to the political and religious influence of the Javanese lords, build great austere temples with peculiar features such as the little bridge (*titi gonggang*), a stone placed over a hole directly in front of the temple gate, over which can pass only the "pure" — the gods and the virgin boys and girls of the village. Interesting also are the divisions of the Bali Aga communities: first into two [621] great groups, right and left, each with its priests; then into four separate groups that meet in representative halls built in the temple: the married men who sit in council at the *balé agung*; the married women who sit in the *balé loh*; and the adolescent boys and girls with their special clubhouses, the *balé truna* and the *balé daha*. In Bali Aga villages the *balé agung* is still the heart of the political and religious life of the community

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and great *balé agungs* can always be seen in the first courtyard of their temples. Most striking examples of such temples are in Taro in the Gianyar mountains, where the largest and the most beautiful *balé agung* in Bali is to be found, and in Trunyan on the shores of Lake Batur.

North Balinese temples depart considerably from the normal structure of the Southern temples already described. They are built on the slope of a hill with the temple proper placed on the highest part in a curious ascendant tendency, culminating in high monuments of carved stone reached by successive flights of stairs.

Typical is the *Pura Medrwé Karang*, the "temple of the Owner of the Land" in Kubutambahan. Here steps lead into a wide, totally empty court, and more steps give access into the second court, the temple proper. In this court there are only two small *balés* for offerings, one on each side of a great monumental stone base consisting of three wide platforms strongly reminiscent of a pyramid. In this temple the essential little shrines of South Balinese temples do not exist; instead, the pyramid is surmounted by a great *padú raksa*, the great gate of other temples, with a stone throne, a *padmasana*, in place of the customary doorway. On each side of the *padú raksa* are two god houses with roofs of sugar-palm fibre. There is, besides, a great split gate, *tjandí bentar*, but instead of serving as the outer entrance to the temple, it is built over the second platform of the pyramid, directly in front of the central monument.

There are no *merus* in North Balinese temples, and many of the most important elements of the Southern temples are lacking. It is usual, however, to find the *padmasana*, the throne of the sun-god, the split gate, and the great monumental gate occupying a place and with a function quite different from those in other Balinese temples. It seems as if the North Balinese adopted these features of the temples with a curiously distorted point of view.

Balinese texts often mention the *sad-kahyangan*, the six holy national temples, over the significance of which no one agrees. Most important of these is the great *Besakih*, situated exactly half-way up the slopes of the Gunung Agung. *Besakih* is Bali's most impressive temple in its austere simplicity, and its grandiosity, with hundreds of black *merus* rising from everywhere to the misty sky and with a single unadorned great gate. Rather than one temple, *Besakih* is a cluster of temples, one for each of the different Balinese states, and once a year (at the full moon of the "fourth" month), the Radjas of Bali, now the regents, make offerings there for the whole of the Balinese people.

Other temples classed among the *sad-kahyangan*, some of which are debatable, are: *Pura Batukau*, near the summit of the mountain of the

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805 [796] 17th of March 1934, marked the end of the saka year 1855 and ushered in the new year 1856.

The Javanese-Balinese Year. The wuku year probably came into use at the time of Madjapahit's domination of South Bali, and today it is the system used universally in Bali, except for the mountaineer Bali Agas, [184] who still reckon their feasts by new and full moons. The wuku is simply divided into weeks (*wukus*) and does not obey any astronomical or other natural rules. Of the ten simultaneous weeks contained in a wuku year, the most important is the week of seven days, corresponding to ours, the names of each day being, like our days, dedicated to the planets: Sunday (*redité*), the Sun; Monday (*soma*), the Moon; Tuesday (*anggara*), Mars; Wednesday (*budda*), Mercury; Thursday (*wrespati*), Jupiter; Friday (*sukra*), Venus; Saturday (*sanistjara*), Saturn.

There are thirty seven-day weeks in a wuku year (*sinta, landap, wukir, kurantil, tolú, gumreg, wariga, warigadian, djulung wangí, djulung sungsang, dunggulan, kuninggan, langkir, madang siha, djulung pudjut, pahang, wurkulut, marakeh, tambir, madang kungkang, mahatal, udjeh, menahil, prang bakat, bala mukí, ugú, wayang, kulawu, dukut,* and *watú gunung*.

773 805 The origin of the names of these weeks is told in the legend of Sinta, a woman who became pregnant after she dreamed she slept with a holy man, giving birth to a beautiful child. One day Sinta lost her temper when the boy became unruly and struck him, wounding him on the head. The boy ran away and his grieved mother searched for him in vain for years afterwards. The grown boy had in time become the powerful ruler of the country of Giling Wesí, where he was known as Watú Gunung, "Stone Mountain," because he was supposed to have obtained his powerful magic from the mountain where he had undergone penance. One day the wandering mother, always in search of him, came to Giling Wesí accompanied by her sister Landap. The two women were still beautiful and Watú Gunung became so impressed by the strangers that he married both, having in due time twenty-seven children by his mother and aunt. By a scar on the head of Watú Gunung, one day Sinta became aware of the incest committed, and to avert disaster it was decided that Watú Gunung had to marry the goddess Srí, the wife of Wisnu, thus becoming himself like a god, free of the curse on incest. He had the audacity to request her in marriage, but was, naturally, refused, causing Watú Gunung to declare war on the gods. Wisnu took personal command of the armies sent to punish his arrogance and finally defeated Watú Gunung after obtaining the secret of the magic that gave him his

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

CHAPTER ONE

Order and Variation in Ritual

It is possible for the student of Balinese ritual to discern, after many years of attendance at these recurring festivals in different villages, a sort of skeleton form common to all of them, a pattern whose broad lines are the same regardless of local variations. Each temple has its own fixed program of ceremonial in which the sequence of events is not varied from year to year. Two temples in a single village may follow a different order of events, a purification ceremony which, by customary usage takes place in the one on the first day of the festival, occurs in the other on a later day. Each sticks to its own usage, and if the priest of the second temple were for some reason unable to officiate, and the priest from the first temple were asked to substitute for him, the order of ritual customary in the temple would be followed, not that of the visiting priest. Neither of these priests would be able to give an outline of the skeleton form which is common to the two temples. They would be able to point out differences, and, with considerable difficulty and many lapses of memory, could relate the order of events which they have learned to follow. Our method was to make notes of the procedure followed and the words spoken, and then afterwards to ask the priest for his explanation of the ritual passages and phrases. Often a passage which was obscure in meaning would become clearer by comparison with the corresponding rite in other localities. For example, when the gods go "to the bath" (*ke bédji*), a sprinkling of a few drops of water in their direction may be all that is done, whereas in another village the god-figures may receive a thorough shower-bath, water poured over them, and a careful anointing afterward with the contents of the "toilet tray" (*pebersihan*). This toilet-tray will be found to be present among the offerings even for the most sketchy of bath rituals. Not infrequently the contents of the offerings for a specific rite would serve to identify it in another locality, where it went by a different name.

The prayer formulae or *mantras* repeated by the priests in the course of the ritual may be of some assistance in throwing light on the significance of a ceremonial passage, but as often as not one would find that the priest either misunderstood the formula he repeated, or disclaimed any knowledge of its meaning, saying "I would not dare to understand that." The *mantras* are in the so-called old language, Old Javanese and Old Balinese, and some Sanskrit verses are preserved in a form not too utterly corrupted to be beyond recognition by Sanskrit scholars.

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

to give them shelter in his house, since they have no longer any house of their own [1]. 845* 852 783

I Lèwèr and Ni Jungir, after forty-two days of exile, were now free to enter the village. They walked slowly and with dignity down the street where their old house had stood, each carrying a "twin" and each firmly grasping a knife with an onion impaled. There was no greeting from the villagers, nor any sign of joy or sadness on the faces of the parents. Before they reached the site of their house, twenty yards away down the street, mats were spread for them. There they must sit and wait in the street for perhaps three hours, while the ceremony *malik sumpah* would take place – the ceremony of turning off the curse which was upon them, but in which for the time they had no part. 845* 783

Immediately opposite the entrance to the house-court the feast for the villagers was going on. Many men sat cross-legged on the *balé's*, enjoying their portion of rice and succulent morsels of meat. In the roadway pits had been dug for roasting, and ducks, chickens, pigs and sausages were being given a final turn on the spit. The villagers who had witnessed the ceremonies outside the village now had their share of the feast. 845* [262] [527]

The Sĕngguhu priest now took his place on a mat spread amongst the offerings on the site of the old house. Before 845* 793 778

[1]) The Balian did not give the obvious explanation that the parents had to burn their house three times lest they might bring a curse upon the house in which they would live. If there were any chance of disaster accompanying them no villager would receive them into his house. A lontar from Tonjă states that if anything is lacking in the ceremony twins may be born three times in succession. I did not find anywhere else in Bali the custom of burning two small *kubu's* after the real one. But in general the case does not come up that the parents must be given hospitality in another house, for the village plan of Sukawană differs from the usual village made up of individual family courtyards. The usual Balinese house consists of several separate buildings, and only the *balé pĕgat* or the *mĕtèn* where the children are born must be torn down and burned .... sometimes not even that. So that the parents on their return still have other buildings to inhabit in their own housecourt, and are not obliged to seek hospitality elsewhere. [184] [844] [342]

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the court of the Balé Agung. The Sĕngguhu was present to officiate. The ceremony he called *manchă sațah* this time, and the offerings included five chickens and a duck. He could not explain why a second *mĕcharu* or formal offerings to the bad spirits had to be made in the temple, so closely resembling the ceremony performed the previous evening. After the return of the people from the Meeting of Rivers anyone who wished was allowed to enter the upper court of the temple. Perhaps this second *mĕcharu* in the temple was to drive away any evil spirits which might have rushed in at the opening of the gates for forty-two days closed. But neither the priest nor the people gave any explanation of it — only, "that is the way it is done".

When it was over the Sĕngguhu returned to his village. His part in the ceremonies was finished. The next day nothing happened. There was visiting in the houses of the elders. Many cups of coffee were drunk in the give and take of hospitality. At the end of the day, without any formal meeting of the council, it had been decided that the gods should go on third day after the *odalan*, not to the sea, but southward over the mountains to the temple of Pausan, some thirty miles away. They would be carried in procession, riding in their pagoda-houses, accompanied by more than four hundred men, women and children. It would take a day to walk there. Two days they would remain there, making offering and sprinkling the gods with the holy water of the place. Then they would return to their village, up over the mountains, to reinstate their purified gods in the temple. That is the end of the ceremonies required for the birth of twins who are a boy and a girl.

Part II.

Variations of the Ritual and Taboos in different Districts of Bali.

As with all other customs in Bali, marked variations are found from village to village. I have visited a dozen different villages where twins have been born in the past few

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*845 ● 184 years. These villages lie in the districts of Dèn Pasar, Tabanan, Mèngwi, Gianyar, Klungkung, Bangli, Kintamani and Bulèlèng. I have read lontars prescribing the ritual and special taboos applying to each of these districts except Kintamani. The contents of those lontars which it was possible to transcribe are given in Part IV. Of course the villages of a certain district will not necessarily follow the dictates of a lontar found in that district, but are more apt to go by their own individual rulings, referring to the authority of the texts in the possession of the priests only in case of difficulty or uncertainty. On account of the autonomic system of village law, the differences are innumerable, but there are some points on which most of the villages agree. The order followed in Sukawană, described above, is as typical as any, if it be remembered that in such an old and isolated village the ceremonies are fuller, the offerings greater, and prescriptions more strictly adhered to than they are in villages more subject to influence from the outside.

Among the major differences in the custom of the various villages, is that of the time of expulsion of the twins with their parents. This is generally forty-two days, but in Trunyan (at the Batur lake) three months of thirty five days, as it is also in the rules of the Sĕngguhu nabé (teacher) of Pĕjatèn, near Tabanan. In an old lontar from Bulèlèng the time is stated as three *tilĕm*, or dark moons. There is also the question whether the three *galungan* (yearly festivals) following the birth may or may not be celebrated. We shall see later that the lontars do not agree on this point. In certain villages, as in Kĕtèwèl (district Ubud, near the South shore), the sacred vessels for holy water kept in the temples must be overturned (*choblong mĕlingĕb*), and the temple gates closed up with thorny branches, so that the gods will not enter there and become contaminated during the time that the village is *sĕbĕl*. According to a Padandă from Sanur, and to a lontar from Tabanan, signs (*sawèn*) of the thorny pandanus must be put up before each household entrance gate.

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It is not always customary to tear down the house or building where the twins were born. In Klunkung it is not done, neither did it happen in Tĕgĕs Kawan (Pĕliatan) nor in Kutri (Singapadu) in cases I investigated. When the house is not torn down a hut is built for the exiles out of bamboo and woven coconut fronds. The place of the *kubu*, where the twins and their parents must live for the period of their banishment, can be on the edge of the graveyard, as in Sukawanã, or in the graveyard itself, as in Tĕgĕs Kawan; at the crossroads (*pĕmpatan*) as many of the lontars state, and as we found in a case of twins on the island (Nusa) of Pĕnida, in the village of Julingan; at the place where three roads meet (*talung tambi*) as at Taro; outside the village on the road to the graveyard, as in Nyĕstanan (Sayan) and Kutri (Singapadu); outside the village to the South as in Bu'ungan [1]) (Susut); or on the sea-shore, the old custom of Klungkung and of Sanur. All of these spots are of course relatively unholy ground, all graveyards and crossroads being favorite haunts of the bad spirits, whereas the sea-shore, as the „lowest" place, farthest away from the mountains and the abode of the gods, is fit for the reception of unclean people banished from the village limits. The number of watchmen (*gĕbagan*) considered necessary is a curious point of variation, for whereas in Sukawanã the number reached fifty men who slept in the hut with the parents and the twins, in Taro there must be only ten or fifteen, in Klungkung, in Kĕtèwèl, in Kutri (Singapadu) five or ten villagers suffice, whereas in Tĕgĕs Kawan the *dèsã* does not provide any watchmen, but four or five of the relatives of the banished family join them to keep them company. In contrast, when twins were born in Nyĕstanan the entire *banjar* or village group of sixty men watched every night during the period of exile.

[1]) References to the customs of Bu'ungan and of Lumbuan are taken from the report of Idã Bagus Adiptã, *Menjelidiki adat-adat koena di-dèsa-dèsa dalam bilangan negara Bangli*, published in the *Bhawanagara*, Nos. 7, 8-9, Tahoen II, 1932-33, and Nos. 2-3, 4-5, Tahoen III, 1933.

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The names applied to the purification ceremonies are various. Undoubtedly the same ceremony is called by different names in different villages, and probably a single name is often differently understood, and applied to unlike rituals.

These I have found in use:

mĕrĕyaschitā or prayaschitā	in Sukawanā, Klungkung, Bangli, Gianyar, Pĕliatan;
ngĕlungah	in Taro, Bu'ungan, Kĕtèwèl, Tonjā, Tĕnganan [1]), Bangli, Gianyar, Pĕliatan, Tabanan;
mĕsakapan	in Sukawanā, Tabanan, Julingan (Nusa Pĕnida), Buungan;
mĕtĕlah-tĕlah dĕsā or mĕsadi	in Taro, Lumbuan [2]), Buungan;
mĕpĕrisadi or mapri saddhi	in Ubud, Gianyar, Bangli, Pĕliatan;

m[illegible] these names:

malik su[illegible]	in Sukawanā, Taro, Klungkung, Nyĕstanā, Sanur;
panchā [illegible]gamā	in Sanur, Tonjā;
panchā sanak	in Sanur;
panchā kĕlud	in Pĕdjatèn, Tonjā;
labuh gĕntùh	in Sanur, Pĕdjatèn;
wrĕspati kalpā	in Sanur, Tonjā;
yamārĕsi ganā saptā . . .	in Tonjā;
madudus	Ubud, Gianyar, Bangli, Pĕliatan;
ngĕlukat or mĕlukat . . .	in Klungkung, Julingan (Nusa Pĕnida), Gianyar, Bangli, Pĕliatan, Ubud, Buungan, Taro;

[1]) References to the customs of Tĕnganan are taken from Dr. V. E. KORN, *De Dorpsrepubliek Tnganan Pagringsingan*, Santpoort, 1933.

[2]) Cf. p. 503 nt. 1.

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mĕkiis or mĕlis	in Taro, Bangli, Gianyar, Pĕliatan, Bu'ungan, Kutri, Tabanan, Sanur, Tonjă;	845 * 184 ●
ngĕlungayang (same as mĕlis)	in Sukawană;	552
ngĕlungahang (not to the river but only to the boundaries of the village)	in Lumbuan.	783

These last two are to be distinguished from the *ngĕlungah* above, which, in Taro for example, is the initial ceremony to be celebrated, first in the house where the birth took place, and then in the Balé Agung temple. In Sukawană, it will be remembered, at the *ngĕlungayang* a great number of the villagers went in procession with the gods to a temple far away. At the *ngĕlungah* in the temple at Taro the villagers are not even allowed to be present, for they are still too unclean to enter the temple, and the ceremony is performed by the Padandă, who has been called from afar, and the maker of the offerings, a man also from another village, since the inhabitants of Taro itself are considered too unclean to prepare the offerings. After the *ngĕlungah* in the house and in the temple, in Taro, comes the *mĕkiis*, not to the sea but to a river, then the *mĕtĕlah-tĕlah dĕsă*, and finally the *mĕcharu* called *malik sumpah* at which a Sĕngguhu officiates. It will be noted that not only the names but the order of the ceremonies can vary, for it is certainly usual to have the *mĕcharu* first and later the *mĕkiis* or *mĕlis*.

The celebration of the ceremonies may be entrusted to a Sĕngguhu, as in Sukawană; to a Padandă alone, either Siwa or Boda, as in Klungkung, Tĕgĕs Kawan, Kutri, and Trunyan; to a Padandă functioning with a Sĕngguhu, as in Bongkasă, in Taro, and as many of the lontars dictate. Or the ceremonies may be carried out by the local priests, using holy water prepared and blessed by a Padandă. This is done in Julingan on the island of Pĕnida, and also in Tĕnganan [1]). In Lumbuan, the Pĕmangku, the temple- [093]

[1]) Vide p. 504, n. 1.

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guardian priest officiates, and in Bu'ungan the Balian konèng, a sort of witch-doctor, but both villages use holy water prepared by a Bujanggă, probably a Sĕngguhu. In Kĕtèwèl, where the purification differs for two sorts of twins, the more serious is celebrated by a Sĕngguhu and a Padandă, the less serious by the Pĕmangku and a Padandă. It would seem that a Sĕngguhu should rightly be in charge of the *mĕcharu*, for offerings to the bad spirits are his special field, and a Padandă should dedicate the offerings to the gods. But the services of a Sĕngguhu are difficult to obtain, for these priests are rare, and although in caste they rank much lower than the Brahman Padandă, they may charge a higher fee. For this reason the Sĕngguhu is often dispensed with. The Padandă has power to make offerings to the bad spirits, just as in Sukawană the Sĕngguhu also made offerings to the gods.

In the matter of offerings the variation of the ritual is hard to tabulate, because the extent of the array depends not only on the custom of the village where the twins are born, but upon the rank and relative wealth of the individual family. Only in the older, more strictly organized villages such as Sukawană, Trunyan, Taro, Lumbuan and Bu'ungan does the adat dictate an elaborate set of offerings which cannot be diminished even if the family of the twins is destitute. In such villages the array must be guaranteed by the members of the village group, and that which the family is not able to provide is supplied for it, creating a debt to the village and putting the family lands in pawn until the debt can be repaid. But in the more usual, less strict villages where the feeling for the unity and common interest of the group is less intense, the extent of the offerings is allowed to depend upon the resources of the affected family, and a small *mĕcharu* for poor people is considered equivalent in effectiveness to a great *mĕcharu* offered by people able to afford it. The rule is that the ceremony is low, middle, or high, according to the „birth" of the people, whether low, middle or high (*nistă, madyă, utamă*). The reference to birth seems to cover their wordly

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wealth as well as their caste. The *mĕcharu* given for twins born in Tĕgĕs Kawan and in Kutri included, as animal offerings, only five chickens, a duck, a pig, and a dog, and the other offerings were correspondingly less than those used in Sukawanã, for instance, where a buffalo, a calf, a goat, and a goose had to be offered as well as the less expensive beasts. But to say that in Tĕgĕs Kawan and in Kutri the *mĕcharu* for *manak salah* comprises only offerings of five chickens, a duck, a pig and a dog, would be incorrect, for twins might conceivably be born to a family there which considered itself sufficiently "high" to give one of the more elaborate *charu*.

In connection with this it may be noted that whereas in the old villages the members of the Balé Agung are generally required to contribute to the ceremonies, upon each man falling the burden of his share, it is more customary for the father of the twins to go begging from door to door, receiving contributions which may not amount to more than a cent per household. In many districts he begs not only in his own Balé Agung but in three, seven, ten, or eleven nearby Balé Agung's, until he has collected the necessary funds. It is said that he may not be refused, no matter how small the contribution. The origin of this custom is probably that in former times the entire *nĕgarã*, the kingdom ruled by a certain Rajã, was rendered *sĕbĕl* by the birth of boy and girl twins in one of its villages (so I was told by Chokordã Anom of the ruling house of Klungkung). The lontars say such twins *ngĕlĕtĕhin jagat*, or *bumi*, or *nĕgarã*. This can be translated „to make unclean the country", and originally must have meant the whole kingdom, although now it is interpreted to mean a single Balé Agung. But the custom remains of asking contributions in a number of surrounding Balé Agung's, as a leftover of their participation in the *sĕbĕl* state in former times. Today not more than a single Balé Agung is considered *sĕbĕl*, and sometimes only the *banjar* (one of the village groups which make up the Balé Agung) in which the birth of the twins occurred.

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In nearly all the villages studied the birth of twins of like sex, two boys or two girls, is not *manak salah*, does not require banishment of the family nor special ceremonies of any kind. Exceptions are the old villages of Lumbuan, Bu'ungan, and Taro, where certain ceremonies are prescribed, and Trunyan and Kětèwèl [1]), where the twins and their parents are also banished from the village. Such twins are called *anak kembar*, whether or not they are considered a bad sign.

Although according to some lontars only members of the ruling Satryă or Wésyă family, and the families of Brahman priests, escape being branded *manak salah* if they bring forth boy and girl twins, and although a Bulèlèng lontar states it to be a bad sign for people of all the four castes, in nearly all the villages of South Bali it is only considered a bad sign if Jabă [2]) (ordinary people, Sudra's) have twins who are a boy and a girl, and a good sign if Triwangsă (people of Brahman, Satryă or Wésyă caste) have such twins. They are called *anak kembar bunching* [3]), which means "twins bride and bridegroom". Among ordinary people it is known that such twins may marry. Everywhere I was told this, by all sorts of people. But a Brahman scholar and holy man, Idă Putu Maron of Ubud, stated that Jabă twins may not marry each other, because they are *salah* [4]). On the other hand, it is a very good sign if high caste twins marry each other.

In the present generation of the princely Chokordă family of Ubud there are such twins who did not marry each

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[1]) In Kětèwèl a special reason exists. See later, page 528.

[2]) According to estimate the Jabă are 94%, the Triwangsă 6%, of the population of Bali. The population is supposed to be approximately a million.

[3]) VAN DER TUUK's Dictionary has *buñching* = bride and bridegroom. Note also that current high Balinese for "to marry" is *mĕkaryă pĕbunchingan*.

[4]) Although the Balinese are supposed to follow the dictates of the Hindu priests, it often happens that the common people go their own way without consulting the priest. When they are at variance with the Hindu custom as strictly held by the Triwangsă, the priest excuses them, saying paternally, "They do not know".

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other, because, the boy said, if he had married his sister he would not have been allowed to take any other wives, and although he was pleased with her, he did not care to commit himself to having only one spouse throughout his life.

In Batuan twins of a "small Satryă" family, whose titles are Déwă Gĕdé and Déwă Ayu, married each other and were happy for two years. Then a powerful man of higher rank (Satryă caste, Chokordă) stole away Déwă Ayu from her twin-husband. Both the young twin-husband and the father of the twins seemed distressed at this arbitrary breaking of the intended order.

These twins were brought up in the same house. But people often say that it is better if the children can be separated when they are small, so that they will be pleased to wed when they meet again at the marriageable age. A member of the Sĕngguhu caste (classed as Jabă, but on account of their priestly functions often considering themselves as good as Brahmans) told me that the twins should be placed as far apart as possible, for instance one in Bulèlèng and one in Badung (Dèn Pasar). He said "When twins are a boy and a girl, it is called *manak salah*, and people say that the boy brings his wife with him out of the womb, and therefore is like a god. The village in which it occurs becomes unclean, the subsequent *galungan* may not be celebrated in the village. Afterward the largest *mĕcharu* must be held to purify the village before it can take part in the *galungan* festivals. The people of the village are very angry when such twins are born.

"But the mother and the father are very pleased. The legend (*chĕrită*) is that this boy must become king, since he has brought his wife out of the womb, like the kings of old.

"After the time of banishment and the purification, the boy and the girl are separated while they are still very small, and placed in houses as far apart as possible, as in Bulèlèng and in Badung. When they have reached the marriageable age, they are brought together and married to one another. It is hoped if the legend comes true and the boy becomes king the wife will bring him power over

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the far-away land where she was reared, and all the land between

"But it is a very rare occurrence that such twins live. Usually either the boy or the girl, or both, die at an early age, and often even the parents die". —

Unfortunately this charming version of the separation is not true all over Bali. Not one of the parents of Jabă twins whom we questioned had heard that this was "to have children like the kings of old". They knew only that it was a bad sign, and a costly one to them. Since it is impossible for a Jabă to become king, and has always been so, the explanation is one which would only occur to the imagination of a proud Sĕngguhu. Later it will be shown to what extent Sĕngguhu's consider themselves exempt from the taboos imposed on all Jabă twins.

In Nyèstanan, a village near Ubud, Jabă twins born twelve years ago were separated by the adoption of the boy into a household in the same village. A year afterward the woman who had taken the boy died suddenly. This was a bad sign. The boy was returned to his parents, for no one else would take him. Now the boy and girl, who are near puberty, state most vigorously that they do not wish to marry each other, since they were brought up as brother and sister.

J. de Vroom, writing more than sixty years ago, mentions as an old custom of forgotten times that *kĕmbar bunching* had to marry each other [1]). I did not find one person, Padandă, prince, or ordinary man, who stated that such marriage was compulsory.

Mr. de Vroom reports also that people say *kĕmbar salah* mostly die. It is curious that in seven cases I investigated one or both twins died before the period of banishment was over. In Taro boy and girl twins have been born three times in the past two years, to unrelated families. In each case the girl has died.

In connection with the frequently reported death of twins

[1]) J. DE VROOM, *Aanteekening uit eene Balische Adversaria. Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, Batavia, Vol. XVIII.

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Certainly the feeling that twins are an evil omen is widespread throughout this extensive area. But I found no evidence to show that the Balinese ever went so far as to kill the children, except in the case of triplets which were two boys and one girl. A Padandă from Sanur and a lontar from Kabă-Kabă (Tabanan) stated that these were to be thrown in the sea or abandoned on the shore; but my informants added that "other people", i.e. not the parents, might take them up and care for them. Probably the high mortality of twins in Bali is sufficiently explained by the undesirable removal of them the day after birth, the sojourn in an inadequate shelter during the first weeks, and perhaps the physical and mental effects on the mother of the whole anxious period before the purification.

Another point must be mentioned in connection with the early death and the separation of the twins. I was told by Chokordă Anom, keeper of the genealogy (*babad*) of the ruling family of Klungkung, that in the time of the Balinese kings all twins and triplets were taken into the Puri of the Rajă to become his slaves (*parēkan*). The Rajă had the right to take these children, whether two boys, two girls, or whatever the assortment of the sexes. The Rajă's power over them continued throughout their lifetime. It happened in Taro in the last generation that a boy-twin was separated from his sister when they reached puberty, by order of the Anak Agung (prince) of Tĕgal-lalang, whose *parēkan* the boy became. Later the boy was released from servitude. He returned to Taro and married his twin. He is now dead, and his widow is an old woman. This is the only case I found where a twin or triplet was taken by a prince, although De Vroom speaks of finding in lontars that boy and girl twins may be dedicated to the prince, who will have them educated [1]). And this case also is too far in the past to make sure that it was on account of his being a twin that the boy was taken into servitude. Princes in Bali still can find ways of casting their subjects into

[1]) Vide p. 510 nt. 1.

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each locality, itself the child of an incestuous union of brother and sister). We do not know the child of the *ampasit*. A twin should marry a twin. If another person not a twin marries a twin, the *ampasit* will become angry and kill him" [1]). Such a belief, although not directly related to that found in Bali, is interesting in the suggestion which it offers of a perhaps similarly primitive belief existing in the primitive Bali, which might have been later overlayed by the Hindu concepts. If this were true all twins would originally have been objects of superstition. Yet most intelligent Balinese attribute the taboo directly to Hindu-Javanese influence. The lontars definitely state that "it is an affront to the king — *mamadă Rajă Dalĕm*". But much evidence points to an earlier fear of twins. Why do we find in four old-style Bali-agă villages twins of like sex considered bad, and only in one Hinduized village, where the special reason of twin ancestor gods exists to explain the unusual taboo? (Kĕtèwèl, see p. 528). Why are there bizarre elaborations of the rite in old villages? [2]). Why

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[1]) Moss, *Nabaloi Law and Ritual*. University of California Publications in American Archeology and Ethnology, Vol. XV, p. 273.

* 845 ● 184

[2]) Such elaborations, for instance, as thrice burning the *kubu*, and the use of the *pusuh* as a substitute for the dead twin in Sukawană. Also, in a case of twins recently in Sĕlulung, the following rite, which was witnessed and related to me by Walter Spies: A *pusuh* was again used as substitute for one of the twins which had died, and when the crowd of villagers went down to the river not only the *pusuh* but the mother and the father and the remaining twin were cast into the stream (*anyudang*). This took place at a *champuh*, or meeting of rivers, and a dam had been constructed across the stream just below where the two rivers came together. The father, the mother holding the child, the *pusuh*, with various *cholong's*, coconuts, etc., were cast in the water above the dam, and then the dam was broken up, so that with a rush of water all were carried some little way downstream. Below this were stationed some fifteen men armed with spears, who with much shouting and excitement tried to pierce the *cholong's* and coconuts as they swept past.

Still another barbaric custom is that prescribed in Tĕnganan, when, after the parents of twins have been driven out of the village, their house is stoned by the villagers. See Dr. KORN's transcription of the *Awig-awig Désă* in *De Dorpsrepubliek Tnganan Pagringsingan*, Santpoort 1933, p. 245.

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„For Triwangsă people it is a sign of prosperity if boy and girl twins are born. The ricefields will yield great plenty and the king and the country will prosper and grow rich.

„For Jabă it is a sign of disaster, pestilence, famine to the land.

„It is a better sign for Triwangsă if the boy is born before the girl. It is a better sign if the children have only one placenta instead of two. For Jabă it is a much more *salah* happening if the boy is born before the girl, and also if there is only one placenta."

(This matter of the placenta has nothing to do with physiological fact. The Balinese have no knowledge or concern over identical and non-identical twins, and they make no difference between a single placenta and two which adhere, appearing as one. The result is that cases of „two placentas" are extremely rare, for they must appear absolutely separately to be considered as two, and most Balinese will say that they have never seen such a thing, many that they did not know of its possibility. However the more erudite Balinese distinguish between a birth with one or two *ari-ari*, although they differ as to which is to be considered the more serious offense).

As a contrast to the high-flown reasoning of Chokordă Ngurah, let us see what a young Brahman, a school teacher, nephew of the Padandă Gĕdé of Bongkasă, has to say:

"The story is that boy and girl twins have had sexual contact in the womb, and the people believe this. They are ignorant, and therefore they are afraid.

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"The Rajăs of old were jealous of their own royal rights and customs. For instance, a certain day, as *Rĕdité Manis*, is an excellent day for people of high caste (Triwangsă) to have a cremation. But the Jabă were not allowed to use that day. And so the Jabă do not dare to use it, they are afraid, they say 'it is not a favorable day for us'. If the Rajă wears red, he forbids the Jabă to wear red. And in the same way, as male and female twins are a good sign for the Rajă, they are a very bad sign for the Jabă.

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It was forbidden by the Rajās, but as the people were under the rule of different Rajās, the customs differ.

"If the girl is born before the boy, of twins born to a Rajā, they may not marry, for she is older. Therefore it is not *salah* for the Jabā if the girl is born before the boy.

"Perhaps the custom arose because once a Rajā had boy and girl twins which were lucky, and once a Jabā had such twins which were unlucky. Superstition arises when people are afraid".

This young man, so superior to the superstition of the people, still admits that Jabā are *salah* if they have male and female twins of which the boy is born first. On this point he is in agreement with Idā Putu Maron, a Brahman scholar of Ubud, who said: "It is only called *bunching* if the boy is born first. If the girl is born first it is called simply *kēmbar*. In this case it is not a good sign for the Triwangsā, nor is it *salah* for the Jabā. But the people do not know this. They proceed with the purification of the village just as if it were *salah*.

"There was once in the ancient Pèjèng dynasty a Rajā who was a twin. He is called Dalēm Bunching. After this, the Rajā's, to enforce their power, ordered the Jabā to be *salah* when they had twins in the way of the Rajā. This was to make the people humble."

When we asked this informant about the twins' sexual connection in the womb, he said that he had never heard such a thing, but perhaps it was told the people by the Rajā's to make them ashamed, so that they would realize how *salah* they were.

Although Idā Putu Maron applies the name *bunching* only to twins of which the boy is born first, we have seen that it is generally applied to all male and female twins. But according to the lontars of Sanur and of Tabanan *bunching* is the name when the girl is born first, whereas if the boy is first it is called *silih asih*. The old men of Taro also said *bunching* if the girl is born first, and *salit* if the boy is first. The Padandā Gēdé of Bongkasā also calls it *silih asih* if the boy is born first, saying that it is

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a better sign for Triwangsă, but no worse for Jabă than the reversed order. He says that twins with one placenta are worse for the Jabă, because that is their way, and with two placentas are better for Rajă's, for that is their way. I was also told by the father of Kĕtut Wijanagară, the administrator of the Liefrink-Van der Tuuk-Library, that in the old days in Bulèlèng the case of one placenta was considered more *salah*, but if the girl was born first it was not *salah* at all.

I have encountered still more divergent meanings for the word *bunching*, as for instance when the Sĕngguhu priest of Lukluk told me that he called boy and girl twins *bunching* if they had two placentas, and *silih asih* if they had only one, regardless of the order of their birth. He added that he had never heard of a case with two placentas. And recently in Bandă, a village near Blahbatu, where triplets were born, the Prĕbĕkĕl (government headman) called triplets in which the sexes were mixed *bunching*, whereas if there were three boys or three girls they would be called *kĕmbar*. In this particular case there were two boys and a girl, which generally is considered a very bad sign, as the people say two men may not share a wife, and the family must be banished, the village purified. The custom in Bandă we cannot consider very orthodox, for although they planned to have the *mĕcharu malik sumpah*, they did not banish the family for the reason that the triplets died within a day of their birth. The death of the offending children does not, in stricter villages, absolve the parents from banishment. We may consider this application of the name *bunching* a case of ignorance. The old name is *katijuru*, perhaps deriving from *juru katrini*, i. e. 'the three officials', a term occurring among the names of officials in older language. There are other fanciful names applied to triplets, as *tunjung apit tĕlagă*, 'a waterlily on either side of the pond', given when there are two girls and a boy, for it is a good sign when the boy is born with two wives (Batuan). If there are two boys and a girl, they are called *bută*, demons, because they must

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fight over the girl. I have also heard two boys and a girl called *panchoran apit bulakan*, two girls and a boy *bulakan apit panchoran*. These are two sorts of springs, the *panchoran* water coming from above and flowing out of a spout, the *bulakan* water bubbling up from beneath in a hollow rock — obvious male and female symbols.

The people are vague about the significance of triplets, as these are of course rarer in occurrence than twins. In a case of one boy and two girls born about seven years ago in Bongkasă, the people did not know what to do. Although at that time the Prĕbĕkĕl (government headman) of the village was the son of the Padandă, the Padandă apparently could not advise him, so he reported the case to the Punggawă, the head of the district. The Punggawă again reported to the Dutch Controleur, but, as the Prĕbĕkĕl told me, "they did not order anything to be done, so the village did nothing". This exemplifies how much the people still hold in their minds that unusual births are a crime against the Rajă — although they know that the power of the Rajă's is long past, they suppose that the Dutch government will also consider it an affront if anyone has twins or triplets!

Another such case was when five or six years ago boy and girl twins were born in Kabă-Kabă (near Tabanan). The parents happened to be Sĕngguhu people, who, because of their priestly caste (although not of the three higher Hindu castes) considered that they had the right to have such twins and not be *salah*. The village, however, dit not agree, and insisted that the parents provide the ceremony for the purification of the 'country'. As the Sĕngguhu family insisted on their rights, the village brought a formal action against them. The decision was referred from one high official to another until finally it was brought to the Governor General. Meanwhile a year had passed. The villagers took the matter into their own hands, and banished the family from the village for life. The exiled ones moved to Tabanan, where they had relatives who took them in, "for they had known of people with twins who had left out the ceremony".

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*895 Bhagawān Gargo has a further passage on twins: The lontar
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It is the way for people with wrong children (*manak salah*), male and female born, to be banished by the people of the village, to be sent out from the house, to be placed at the graveyard, for a month and seven days they remain at the graveyard and may not return home to sleep. After the time is up they may come back to the village, and have the ceremonies *amalukat*, *maprisaddi*, *madudus déning chatur kumbă* = purifying (bathing) with water from the four Vessels, at the big crossroads (here the offerings are enumerated)... the ceremony *padudusan* (bathing) to be accompanied with *mantră's* (prayers) of the complete *prayaschită* i.e. *Sayam Brahmă*, *Ganastawă*, *Bhuwanéçwari*, *Nadayă*, *Astupungku*.

They must make the *Sanggar Tawang* (bamboo shrine for the gods). (The offerings are enumerated, both to be put up in this shrine for the uranic gods (*suchi*) and to be set out on the ground for the chthonic gods (*charu*)). Those who officiate are *Sang Siwă* (Padandă Siwă) and *Sogată* (Padandă Bodă), offerings *daksină* and *pras*. As soon as the people are purified (*adudus*), the house in the graveyard is burned, is sprinkled with holy water, using the necessary offerings *prayaschită* and *sĕsayut*. When this is done, the uncleanness of the people with twins is erased. Then they may go back to their house. This is required by divine law.

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(More about the offerings) ... and the possessions of the people with twins may not be taken and used for ceremonies nor for *charu* before they have been purified (*malukat*). After they have been purified the festivals may go on in all the temples. And the people of the village are forced to contribute according to their means (*nistă*, *madyă*, *utamă*, poor, middle, rich). The people who have twins must beg for contributions in ten *Balé Agung's* before the ceremony *malukat*, but they may not sleep in the villages.

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Here we find in two different passages of a single lontar sets of rules which do not correspond. The first text which the Rajă expounds to his people, banishes the twin-family to the crossroads, the second text names the graveyard. In the second no mention is made of *ngĕlungah*, nor of *mĕkiis*. Although we found *mĕkiis* (carrying the gods to the sea or to the river) or *mĕlis* customary in most villages after

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the birth of twins, we were told in Klungkung and in Kĕtèwèl that it was not done there. It will be noted that in the Bhagawan Garga lontar, the Rajă tells his people that three galungan's may not be celebrated after the birth, although the later section does not speak of it. Another lontar, from Tabanan (Kabă-Kabă) specifically denies the restriction. And as I have told, the Padandă Bodă from Pĕliatan recommended this measure in a case of twins there, but his advice was not followed, and I have never happened to find a case where the stopping of three galungan festivals did occur.

Rarely one finds the time of banishment for the family of twins extended to three months. In the old village of Trunyan, for instance, twins of unlike sex are placed at the *trugtug*, where the dead are not buried but only exposed, for three months (*sasih*), whereas twins of like sex are only banished to a hut in the fields outside the village limits, for forty-two days. J. de Vroom apparently was told that *manak salah* entails banishment to the graveyard for three months of thirty-five days [1]). And the Sĕngguhu Rĕsi Nabé from Pĕdjatèn (near Tabanan), who is a most famous priest and teacher of Sĕngguhu's, and whose pupils practice all over South, North, and West Bali, also said *bunching* twins were to be banished for three *sasih* months of thirty-five days. We found in the following fragment of a lontar from Bulèlèng, *Sima dèça Bulèlèng*, the time stated as three *tilĕm*, or dark moons, which is of course not the same thing as three *sasih*:

If a full member of the society of the Balé Agung, or a person living in the desa Bulèlèng, begets *anak salah* even though they are Brahman, Wèsyă, Satryă, or 'people of the fields', it makes the country dirty, the entire village. They must be banished (temporarily) by the villagers, and placed at the *talugtug* (junction of three roads) of the graveyard, and the house of the 'wrong ones' must be brought there, for three dark moons. As soon as three dark moons have passed, the wrong ones must purify the

[1]) J. DE VROOM, *Aanteekening uit eene Balische Adversaria. Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* Vol. XVIII.

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the hut of banished family, (2.) the *kamulan*, the household shrine at their original house, (3.) the *pĕmpatan*, the cross-road(s), (4.) the *pĕkĕn*, the market place, (5.) the *blulangan yĕh*, an island or piece of land with water running on either side of it, (6.) the *Balé Agung* temple, and (7.) the *balé pĕgat*, the building where the birth of the children took place. The ceremonies are performed by a Padandă (*brāhmana*) and a Sĕngguhu (*yajamāna*), in order to rid the country of the evil (*pāpa*). If these rules are not obeyed, disasters and epidemics increase.

And if triplets *(katijuru)* are born, they must be banished to the sea-shore. If there are two boys, famine and illness to the country. Other people (not the parents) should take them up and have the ceremony for them. They should be taken up and a ceremony performed at the Balé Agung.

If there are two girls and one boy, it is not necessary to banish them, for it is said to make the country fertile.

This is the way of the dĕsă Kabă-Kabă.

This is the law, if there are two children born in one day, and the girl is born first and the boy after, it is called born *bunching*. Because the *bunching* birth is an affront to the Rajă, the country is dirtied, they must be banished and placed at the big crossroad(s) for 42 days. The people of the village must put up *sawèns*, signs of pandanus, before every courtyard gate. When the time is up, the people who have made the village unclean must have the ceremonies *masakapan amanchă panggung*, *ngĕlungah* at dark moon, and after *ngĕlungah* the people of the village must *mĕkiis* to the sea at full moon.

The people who have made the village unclean must surrender all their utensils for the ceremony to the head of the village, money 10,100, rice 200 measures, and the other offerings for the gods (*widhi-widhāna*), and fire-wood, arèn-leaves, cocanut leaves, bananas, laths.

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There follow instructions about the offerings. The father is to go begging for three days, asking contributions. But it does not say to beg in a number of other Balé Agung's,

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*845 ● 184 783 as I found costumary in many other places — in Taro, eleven Balé Agung's, in Tĕgĕs Kawan (Pĕliatan) the same number, in Sanur seven, in Kutri (Singapadu) three, in Bongkasă, Ubud, and according to the Bhagawan Garga, ten. Then come directions for *mĕkiis* to the sea, and the statement that after the village is entirely purified, *galungan* may be celebrated for three times. This seems to be a denial of the rule found elsewhere that the *galungan* festival is to be three times held up.

Next we have another sort of twins:

And if two children are born in one day, and the boy is born first and the girl afterward, it is called *salilyasih* (*silih asih*, exchange of love). This does not dirty the country, it "washes" the [539] queen, it blesses the country below and above.

And if anyone has twins (*manak salah*) which dirty the country, they must be banished by the villagers and placed at the big crossroads for 42 days. All the people of the village must put signs of pandanus before all the courtyard doors. When the time is up, they must have *matatĕbasan* at dark moon, *amancha panggung* called *manglungah*, offerings and full honor to the gods as before, let none be lacking.

*845 Then are given the offerings for *pracharu* for *manak salah*, to be set out at the Balé Agung, the crossroads, the marketplace, the spring or bathing place, the balé where the birth took place, and the household shrine. Once more the instructions for *atatĕbasan* at the Pură Dĕsă, then *mĕkiis* to the sea at full moon. It is specified that the village must make the [783] *charu* according to custom, building the *sanggah tutuan*, and all the villagers must be purified with the *lis*, and give honor to all the gods.

An explanatory sentence, referring to a section above, says that a birth is called *hĕlatĕn* when one, two, or three *da'uh* (period of an hour and a half) intervene between the appearance of the two children, even though both come in the same night. This was called *hĕlatĕn* in olden times.

Lastly, the births called *bunching* and *silih asih* are of

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Neither of these sorts of twins threatens the country. But the lontar says it is just as well to have the ceremony or the *charu*. 845* 539

And if anyone has three children born at once, of which two are boys and one a girl, that is called *katiruju* (*kati-juru* in the Tabanan lontar), and is extremely dangerous to the country, and these children must be set down on the sea-shore. According to custom two of the children are cast away, and then picked up by another person, not their mother. In this case there must be the ceremony *mĕdudus* at the Balé Agung.

And if anyone brings forth one boy and two girls, they do not become *sĕbĕl* and their house is not moved, because in this case, it is said, the country begins to be prosperous and healthy, and diseases will not spread.

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This set of rules makes apparent gradations in the wrongness of *manak salah*, so that the only really evil birth seems to be when to low-caste people a girl is born before a boy and there are two placentas — except of course in the case of the very rare unlucky triplets. And the matter of the placentas is not based on physiological fact, for if the two adhere they are considered as one. The obscurities in the texts allow room for interpretation in favor of those concerned. In a case of boy and girl twins born to Jabă people in Sanur last year, the family was not banished, no *mĕcharu* was held, and the villagers did not consider themselves *sĕbĕl*, but continued to go to the temples only because the boy had been born first. The Padandă of Intaran, and the Brahman Balian, who normally should have officiated, did not approve of their omitting the ceremonies, and said that at the latest the people must have a *mĕcharu* during the ninth month (four months after the birth).

845* [214] 184 173 [113]

A report has been made in the magazine *Bhawanagara* covering the ancient adat of two Bali Agă villages in the district of Bangli, Bu'ungan [1]) and Lumbuan [2]). The an-

[1]) Idă Bagus Adiptă, *Menjelidiki adat-adat koena didésa-desa dalem bilangan negara Bangli. Bhawanagara*, Tahoen III, No. 4-5, 1933.

[2]) Idă Bagus Adiptă, *Menjelidiki adat-adat koena didésa-désa dalem bilangan negara Bangli. Bhawanagara* Tahoen II, No. 8-9, 1933.

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*845 ● 184 193 cestors of the inhabitants of these villages lived in the district of Karang Asĕm, but in a time of war with Bulèlèng the people moved *en masse* to the present sites in the Bangli district, bringing with them their lontars, sacred objects, and the rules for their whole complex social organization. In Bu'ungan the rules for twins are reported as follows:

If anyone bears twins which are two males or two females (*anak kĕmbar*), as soon as these children are aged one month and seven days and as soon as the ceremony *tutug kambuhan* [539] has taken place, at once must be the ceremony *mĕsakap* (*matĕlah-tĕlah désă*) at the crossroads, performed by the *balyan konèng* (trance-doctor). The offerings are the same as enumerated for marriage which wrongs the adat.

After three days the *kramă désă* (group of villagers) must *mĕlis*, and the twins with the mother and father receive holy water (*mĕlukat*) to be freed from their uncleanness (*sĕbĕl*).

The expenses of this and also of the *pĕmĕndak Batară* (the reception of the gods) on their return from *mĕlis* are all to the account of those who have the twins.

*845 829 825 Before we consider the rules for *manak salah*, it will be well to note what is said about wrong marriages in Bu-ungan, where the *mĕsakap*, *mĕlis*, and *pĕmĕndak Batară* correspond with those for twins of like sex. It is in such connection that one wonders if the whole twin superstition does not rest, not on the idea of incest itself, but on the same basis as that for incest taboos — the concept of the way of animals in contradistinction to the way of men. For if it is the way of animals to mate with their near relatives, it is also their way to have more than one child at a time. Twins of like sex are already bad because they are born like beasts, and twins of unlike sex are worse because of the incestuous connotation, the improper intimacy of brother and sister in the womb. The Bu'ungan [835] report definitely states the thought-connection of animals with incest:

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out on the ground, together with offerings *sorohan agung* and *bayang-bayang*, all to be set out on the ground facing south, to be offered up to the gods of the sea and of the earth (*pĕrtiwi*). And one white goose, skinned and spread out with offerings *sorohan agung* are placed in the *sanggar tawang* (bamboo altar) for Batarā Suryā (sun). One female black goat, a duck *bĕlang kalung*, chickens of five colors (*manchā warnā*) are placed according to the five colors, white to the East, red to the South, yellow to the West, black to the North, and many-colored in the center, together with *sorohan panchā* to be offered to these gods: Iswarā, Brahmā, Mahadéwā, Wisnu and Siwā. After this to the *butā-butā*, the demons. Then one full-grown black pig skinned and spread out with *sorohan agung*, *bĕbangkit*, *suchi*, and all the various offerings which must accompany it, are placed in the *panggungan* to be offered to Batarā . . . . . (the god of the temple). During this time Batarā Sakti Bujanggā is invited to descend, to be present before the temple where the holy water is asked for. The *balian konèng* performs the ceremony called *ngantĕb*, (to deliver the essence of) these offerings.

As soon as the *ngantĕb* is over the people with twins receive holy water, and their house is also burned on the spot. Then they may return to the village, for their uncleanness *(sĕbĕl)* is erased.

Three days after this, the *kramā dĕsā* (group of villagers) must *mĕlis*, following all the gods to be purified. The entire *kramā gĕbog satak* (200) go to *mĕlis*. The reception of the gods on their return and the putting them away is the same as was described above for marriages against the adat.

As regards the expenses of all the ceremonies, it is said that they are evenly divided, half to fall on the *kramā dĕsā* and half on the people with twins.

So much for Bu'ungan. In Lumbuan, the other old village whose adat is covered in the *Bhawanagara* report, if *anak kĕmbar*, twins of like sex, are born, the ceremony *mĕtĕlah-tĕlah* is the same as that required in cases of *salah pati*, when a man hangs himself. Although for the suicide the house must be taken down and burned at the graveyard,

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this does not seem to be necessary for the twins of like sex. The ceremony takes place before the house where the disaster occurred, one month and seven days after the event, and includes building the *panggungan* in which *sorohan agung* and a pig are offered, and before this on the ground the chickens of five colors, the duck *bĕlang kalung* (white collared), a dog *bĕlang bungkĕm* (red and black with a white mouth) and a goat, set out in the five directions. Here it is called *mĕcharu*, for the *kală bută* (demons). The Pĕmangku officiates, prayers are made to the gods of the temple Pură Puseh Balé Agung, and the Pĕmangku asks for holy water with which to purify the house-court of the disaster and the whole village.

When *anak bunching*, boy and girl twins, are born, it is called *manak salah* for people of Jabă caste. The members of the *banjar* (village-quarter) beat the *kul-kul*, assemble, and remove the parents with the twins and their house to the outskirts of the village, where they must remain a month and seven days. The members of the *banjar* take turns watching over them. But for their food the family with the twins must be themselves responsible.

After one month and seven days, the ceremony for the purification of the village is held, called *mĕsadi*, with offerings for *mĕcharu* including a goat, a goose, a duck, a calf and a dog. They are set out as before, the Pĕmangku officiates, but the holy water is got from the Bujanggă. There are prayers to the gods of the temple Pură Puseh Balé Agung, and holy water is asked before the temple Pura Pĕnataran. Here also the people with the twins are purified (*mĕtĕlah-tĕlah*).

After twelve days all the gods of all the temples are carried out to be purified, as far as the boundary of the village to the North and the boundary of the village to the South. This is called *ngĕlungah*.

The expenses of the *mĕsadi* are taken over by the village if the parents of the twins are too poor, but later they must repay the village.

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It will be noted that the offerings for *manak salah* in such an old village as Lumbuan are extensive, including, as regards the animal offerings, a goat, goose, duck, calf, dog, pig, and five chickens. Many of these are to be of special "colors" and are often difficult to find. Still stricter are the villages of Sukawanã, Trunyan, and Taro, where a *kẽbo* (water-buffalo) must also be used. But in most of the villages of South Bali the five chickens, duck, pig and dog are considered sufficient for the *mẽcharu*. There is in existence, however, a lontar which surpasses all bounds in this respect, giving instructions for the use of a tiger and a rhinoceros in the consummate *mẽcharu*! This curious document is in the possession of a Sẽngguhu in the village of Tonjã, near Dèn Pasar. Much of it seemed obscure to the owner himself. I shall try to quote from it.

The lontar called *Indik Manak Salah*, says: "If each has a placenta this affronts the (Rajã) Idã Dalẽm, it is necessary to purify (*mẽrestistã*) the country. Such is the purification ceremony (*pẽngẽlungahan*) for *manak salah* born in the village, by order of the kings of Bali". At great length the offerings are enumerated, the various sorts of coconuts, the array of clothes, for both men and women, the offerings of elaborate composition containing rice, fruit, flowers, thread, money, spices, and palm-leaf decorations, each of which is known by its individual name, and the number of *kẽpẽng's* (cash) which must appear among each set, and which the Bujanggã takes for himself after the ceremony. Some of these are to be dedicated at the Balé Agung, some at the house, some at the *mẽlis* or *mẽkiis* to the sea. Among the offerings at the house are a plough, and the instrument with which the earth of fields is smoothed over. In connection with this the Sẽngguhu told me, although it is not written in the text, that the custom was in the case of *manak salah* for the inside of the courtyard where the unlucky birth took place to be ploughed up, and then smoothed over, using a *yos branã* and an *anggrèk ulan* — a black water buffallo born from a white mother and a white one born from a black mother! He said that in case

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these animals were not to be found, the parents of the twins must themselves be hitched to the plough. The use of the two rare buffalo for the occasion of a big *mĕcharu* was verified by the *sĕngguhu nabé*, the teacher, of Pějatèn, but he had not heard of hitching up the parents, only saying their legs were to be tied up lightly with threecolored thread. The three colored thread is mentioned in this lontar.

Other offerings at the *mĕlis* are a roast pig, a duck, and five chickens, a new fan such as is used in the kitchen, a new clay cooking pot. At the house must be also a roast pig, duck, five chickens, and four new pots. And at the Balé Agung a roast pig, two ducks, five chickens, the throne to the Sun god. It is repeated many times that the Bujanggă gets 1700 *kèpèng's*, at the *ngĕlungah*, at the return to the house from the *mĕlis*, etc., but the order of the writing is so confused that it is hard to tell how often this fee is to be payed. He gets also many of the offerings, and after officiating at the *désă* temple, on return from *mĕlis*, he gets 3200 *kèpèng's* and an entire set of clothes. At this time, among other things, fifteen ducks, twenty-five chickens, a pig, and five ducklings are offered. And the water used for purification is of eleven kinds, including that from the sea, from the lake, and from the various sorts of springs.

The lontar then states that the peòple with twins (*manak salah bunching kĕmbar*) must be banished by the villagers for forty-two days, and must pay for the offerings *amanchă-sangă panggung*, one *panggung* or altar-full to be placed on land surrounded by water, on the edge of the village, beside the bridge, at the crossroads, at the *balé* where the birth took place, at the Balé Agung, at a meeting of three roads, and at the house. When the gods are carried to the sea there are more offerings on the sea shore and on the return to the *désă* temple.

"Do not be short of the way of this writing", it says, "lest twins be born again. According to the birth of the people, the way of the ceremony must be, high for the high, middle for the middle, low for the low.

"If there is *mĕcharu* at the Balé Agung of the whole

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admitted that their rules were obsolete, "for tigers are now too hard to find. The rhinoceros, they said, must have come from Java (which means to the Balinese any country outside of Bali), for it has never been known in Bali.

After the naming of the various sorts of *charu's* the Tonjă lontar straightway gives a *mantră* or prayer to the *kală bută*, the demons. This, with the *mantră* to Siwă which comes at the end, the Sĕngguhu was unwilling to read out, whether from ignorance of the old language or from fear of the consequences should the magic words be sounded under inappropriate circumstances, I was unable to discover. The lontar is considered very sacred, and offerings had to be made before it could be 'opened'. After the prayer to the demons, the lontar continues:

"This is the law for wrong birth, *bunching kĕmbar* female-male, they must be banished by the villagers to the big crossroads for forty-two days, they must pay for the set of offerings. The offerings are given at the Balé Agung to purify the country, offered to all the gods. The gods are placed on the Balé Panjang (the Balé Agung, here denoting the long platform, to distinguish it from the temple which is called after it Pură Balé Agung). All the Pĕmangkus are called. All the people must make offerings to all the gods in the temples *désa* (= Balé Agung), *dalĕm*, *pusĕh*, *pĕnataran*, *mĕlanting ring pasar* (the market.) When the gods come out, an uncastrated pig must be sacrificed before the big inner gate of the temple.

"This is the story if anyone has twins born *bunching kĕmbar*, exactly as these letters have given it. If anyone does not follow it he will have twins *bunching* again. Beware lest he have them three times."

A *mantră* to Siwă ends the lontar.

The Balinese, as a people in great part illiterate, have an exaggerated respect for the written word. They take the lontars most seriously, considering the prescriptions voiced in them to be as law — a law sometimes obsolete, obscure, unexplainable, but still holding in its content the right way. This in spite of the many disparities which, as

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we have found, exist between one text and another, and the illogical, confused order, even contradictions, appearing within a single text. It is to be said, however, that there is no reason why the texts originating in different districts should coincide, for these were in the old days under the rule of different princes. As the years went by each royal family developed its laws independently, and as we have seen, the people considered the laws for *manak salah* to come from the king. And the custom within individual villages would tend to take on its own character, for there was and still is little connection between the doings of one village and the next. The position of the Sĕngguhu is curious, for as these priests are rare, they generally have to be called from a distant village to officiate in the village where they are needed. Then, although they may have their own rules to be followed, they merely play their role according to the custom of the village which has engaged them. In Taro, where twins were born three times within two years because the disaster occurred in three different families, each of these chose to call in a different Sĕngguhu priest. But the way of the ceremony remained the same, following the laws of Taro. So that in the case of the lontar of the Sĕngguhu in Tonjă, it is possible that it would never be referred to except when *manak salah* happened in that very village.

Out of the confusion which a study of a single ritual has shown to exist in Bali, I can draw no conclusions. I can only hope that scholars on examining the data will find it useful in reconstructing a picture of the early culture of Bali, and by comparison with other material be able to judge whether or not the roots of the custom pertaining to twins lie in pre-Hindu times.

Sayan, Bali, Sept. 1, 1934.

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He will drive tirelessly for several hundred miles, and cheerfully apply himself to any necessary repairs in a breakdown. But if after a short journey he is asked to lift out a parcel from the car, he calls another to do it for him—a very unusual thing in Balinese who are not of high caste, as they are universally reluctant to ask their equals to serve them. Another unusual quality is his lack of the sense of relaxation common to most Balinese. Generally they will sit for hours without impatience, waiting for something to happen, and they seem to find pleasant the state of doing nothing. Often they drop off to sleep. But Madé could not be left alone for ten minutes in a car; he would be off on some errand of his own, to bargain for coconuts or to flirt with some pretty girl at a market stall. He took rebukes from his masters with ill grace, flaring up in insolence, or sulking and glowering to himself. To cover up his impetuosity and his shirking of explicit orders, he developed habits of dishonesty. All these things caused him to make an unsatisfactory chauffeur, and he repeatedly lost his position, whether he worked for Europeans or for Chinese or Arab car owners. He is an impulsive spender, vain about his costume and the prestige afforded him by his possessions. The money that he earns is soon gone, and he will probably never save enough, as many of the young men do, to buy a secondhand car of his own. This is the case of an unusually ill-adapted Balinese. It is curious to note that such a type cannot adjust itself to the new order any more than to the old. He makes many friends and many enemies among the Balinese. Men and women respond to his spontaneous charm, his vivacity and gayety as a companion. But in his friendly relations he is always getting into trouble, for he will not stick to the rules of the game.

The Force of Tradition

It is in contemplating the character of such a man that one realizes, in contrast, how closely the majority of the Balinese do conform to the scheme laid down by tradition, and how well-mannered, balanced, and relaxed they appear. The babies do not cry, the small boys do not fight, the young girls bear themselves with decorum, the old men dictate with dignity. Every one carries out his appointed task, with respect for his equals and superiors, and gentleness and consideration for his dependents. The people adhere, apparently with ease, to the laws governing the actions, big and small, of their lives. Since the material conditions of their existence have remained for

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many hundreds of years static, it has been possible for these laws to grow up, to be sifted and tested over a long period, until they have reached a code eminently suitable to the people whom they govern. For this reason it becomes easy for the child to take over the ways of his elders—the more forcibly impressed upon him because of the weight of tradition behind them, and the fear of transgressing the laws which have been shown by experience to be acceptable to the ever-present gods and demons. Actually the child is afforded no choice at all under the sanction of the community. He has only to obey the prescriptions of tradition to become an adult happily adjusted to the life which is his. And if the child is a girl, she begins very early to feel how her rôle is differentiated from that of a boy. The women accept without rancor the rôle of an inferior. It is simply that they have their being on a different plane from the men. In a society with so many stratifications, that of age within the family, of rank and of relative wealth as between families, the place of woman as an inferior is not seen as a hardship. The system of stratification works smoothly, as a rule, and all those individuals who conform to it seem happy. It is a part of the very order which gives to the life of the Balinese its stability.

When the Rules May Be Broken

The Balinese way of life even provides an organized release from the rigid code, times when individuals who feel the need of it may break almost all the rules of decorum. These are the occasions of intense and fevered group activity. There is no space here to describe these manifestations in detail, and a few examples of what I mean must suffice. In the prolonged and enthusiastic rehearsals of musicians, actors, and dancers, when all work together in a group, no attention is paid to relative rank, and a performer of noble birth takes his place in equality with the group—he sits on a level with his social inferiors, and bows to their will in matters of artistic production, if their talent be superior to his. At communal feasts men who are accustomed to eating in private gather in groups to partake of the unusual viands and delicacies which they have prepared. Here the taboos do not quite break down, for although they regale themselves with relish, no conversation is allowed between the members feasting together. At the celebration of cremations, several hundred men together cast off their habitual carefully poised bearing, and taking up the body of their friend, or the tower which is to convey

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Rendah has one wife, Rieh, who has borne him nine children. Three of these died in infancy. His eldest, a girl, he has just given in marriage to her paternal parallel second cousin, the eldest son of Gari, Rendah's own paternal parallel cousin (fig. 1, I). This girl, Tingglih, has "followed her husband," and now lives across the street in the house of her father-in-law Gari. Only five children remain in Rendah's house.

Rendah himself was one of eight children, also borne to his father by one wife (fig. 2, II). The children, in the order of their birth, receive title-names, as follows:

Wajan—First-born
Madé—Second-born
Njoman—Third-born
Ketoet—Fourth-born.

If there are more than four children the series begins over again, and the fifth child is Wajan, the sixth Madé, etc. Every djabă must have one of these title-names, which precedes his given name. The given name is chosen by a system of divination through fire, from a group of names suitable to a child born on a certain day of the astrological calendar. It is rarely used, except to children and to inferiors in age and in social status. To use the title-name is always more polite, and compulsory for inferiors in age and in social status. Thus Rendah, although he is the eldest son, was the fourth-born of his family. He is called Ketoet by his equals, or I Ketoet Rendah when they are speaking about him, to distinguish him from other Ketoets. After the birth of his first child he is called 'Pan Tingglih,[1] father of Ting-

[1] 'Pan is the abbreviation of bapan, from bapă, father, with the possessive -n. In certain mountain districts the old word 'nang, shortened from nanang, father, is used. Similarly bibi for mother or aunt, is sometimes found instead of the usual mémé. On the island of Noesă Penidă, belonging to Bali but with a distinctive dialect, bibi and bébé are in use for mother and aunt as well as mémé, and maman for paternal or maternal uncle, reserving nanang for the biological father. In Balinese classical literature paman is used for uncle and as a familiar form of address to older men (as a young prince speaking to his father's minister). In Malay pāman may be used in the latter way, though its original meaning is maternal uncle. Iboe, mother, and jajah or adji, father, occur also in the literature. Iboe and adji are current high Balinese, and biang, mother, is found among high-caste people used as a title-name. Keramă is another old form for mother, found in the texts. Kaki, grandfather, appears in the literature more often than the current pekak. Nini and néné, old forms for grandmother, are rarely found outside the texts. Nini is still in use as the name for the rice-goddess of the harvest ritual, although apparently not universally known.

Koeranan is used for both husband and wife. The words moewani, male, and loeh, female, are commonly substituted in low Balinese for husband and wife. In high Balinese they are lanang, male, and istri, female; istri has come to have a more definite meaning of wife, although high-caste Balinese have many different words, as rabi, wife, prami swari, consort (of

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Klepoeg's first wife seems to have been unsatisfactory, and was divorced. She had no children. Neither did her successor, Gijoer. Klepoeg obtained an heir by adopting the son of his brother. On Krèbèk, who moved away to another district, we have no information beyond the fact of his marrying twice.

It is of course impossible to draw any conclusions on polygyny from such a limited study. The cases mentioned only illustrate how the taking of a second wife is more strongly motivated by the need for sons than by an affectional urge towards the woman. It would be expected that the young men for whom initial marriages have been arranged would later wish to exercise an independent choice. But, as we have seen, even the second marriage may be an arranged one, between cousins. The Balinese say that a poor man who has one good wife can ill afford to take another. As a rule any wife who is not unfaithful, and who has borne a son, is considered "good." It is the son, in Balinese culture, who is of most importance—a social and religious necessity.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS

It is generally said of Bali that marriage is by abduction, the husband subsequently making a payment to the bride's father, varying from 10,000 to 50,000 kepengs (value approximately 12 to 65 Dutch guilders). It is true that this custom is widespread, and prevalent in the districts around Den Pasar and Boeleleng, the big townships. It may be found surprising that no such marriage is mentioned in the study of Rendah's family. There is much evidence to show that the form of arranged marriage practiced in Rendah's family, planned to link the households of relatives and friends, and without monetary compensation, is the older and more characteristic procedure. In fact, the old men of Sajan say that in their generation (before the Dutch occupation) girls were often stolen from one village by the young men of an enemy village, but that, instead of the husband's making a payment to the bride's father, the father would make a payment to the young man so that the girl should be returned to her village and the marriage dissolved. To have one's daughter marry in a hostile village was to lose sight of her completely. They say that if the match is suitable the father asks no payment, and only if he were angry would he require compensation of the bridegroom. Cynical and commercial-minded young men of the towns say, "the father always manages to be angry, so that he will get the money."[7] But for the old-fashioned people of Sajan this is not true.

[7] Certainly it is considered decorous for the father to at least pretend anger at the ravishing of his daughter, just as the girl herself must weep and struggle to escape at the time of her capture, even though she has previously agreed, and helped to plot that capture.

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*783 *ambengan*). 7 grass stalks (*munchuk padang lipas*). 7 tufts of cotton from the *rembiga* plant (*kapuk menduri*) bound round with the white-black-red thread of the gods (*benang tri datu*).

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532 29 *kakurungan* cage, in which the offering maker places a *kukur*, the figure of a dove. Sometimes this cage is not made and then the dove is placed in the *lis*.

30 *tulung* a pattern of three, four or five equally spaced rings of leaves, one on top of the other. I was unable to establish the meaning of the word *tulung*.

31 *lad sumbah* This component could be called an adoration symbol. The meaning of the word *lad* is here not understandable. The figure is an intricately cut out pattern comprising

tlapakan footsole,
kuku nails,
batis foot,
lad ? and
sumbah posture of obeisance, the *sumbah* being expressed by a leaf so folded as to suggest hands placed together before the face.

32 *kuku n kambing* goat's hoof. As a component of the *lis isuh isuh* it is made from a whole *busung*; as a component of the *lis sanjata* it is made from strips of leaf folded into a pentagonal shape about one inch thick (not illustrated).

[184] It need hardly be pointed out that from village to village there are endless variations on the same basic pattern.

These 32 components, topped by the finely cut strips of palm leaf constitute the *lis* as a holy water sprinkler. The only addition required is

[177] two Chinese coins, designated as *bwah* (fruit) which are tied on to it.

*783 The *lis* must now be completed as an offering. The nimble fingers of

778 the offering maker begin weaving the *tipats* in which the glutinous rice

532 is cooked and kept when prepared. These are called

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[412] 33 *tipat tulud* named by analogy with the *tulud*, an oblong piece of wood with a handle attached that is used for sweeping away refuse. This form is also employed for the similarly named offering made of dough, in both instances to symbolize the banishment of the forces of evil. In some villages a tuft of the 'hair' of the *lis* is placed in the *tipat tulud* after the ceremonial cutting of the hair. In other villages food is placed in this *tipat*. Both the *tipat tulud* and the *tipat pusuh* are cut open during the ceremony of the consecration of the *lis* preceding the actual sprinkling of the holy water with the *lis*. This ceremony will be described later.

34 *tipat pusuh* navel *tipat*, round shaped.

Next the components forming the belly are bound together and then those components which are *mamata* (with a face). The thick bundle

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Form and Variation in Balinese Village Structure

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AS ALL things Balinese, Balinese villages are peculiar, complicated, and extraordinarily diverse. There is no simple uniformity of social structure to be found over the whole of the small, crowded countryside, no straightforward form of village organization easily pictured in terms of single typological construction, no "average" village, a description of which may well stand for the whole. Rather, there is a set of marvelously complex social systems, no one of which is quite like any other, no one of which fails to show some marked peculiarity of form. Even contiguous villages may be quite differently organized; formal elements—such as caste or kinship—of central importance in one village may be of marginal significance in another; and each of the twenty-five or so villages sampled in the Tabanan and Klungkung regions of south Bali in 1957 a total area of only some 450 square miles showed important structural features in some sense idiosyncratic with respect to the others.[1] Neither simplicity nor uniformity are Balinese virtues.

Yet all these small-scale social systems are clearly of a family. They represent variations, however intricate, on a common set of organizational themes, so that what is constant in Balinese village structure is the set of components out of which it is constructed, not the structure itself. These components are in themselves discrete, more or less independent of one another: the Balinese village is in no sense a corporate territorial unit coordinating all aspects of life in terms of residence and land ownership, as peasant villages have commonly been described, but it is rather a compound of social structures, each based on a different principle of social affiliation and adjusted to one another only insofar as seems essential. It is this multiple, composite nature of Balinese village structure which makes possible its high degree of variation while maintaining a general formal type, for the play between the several discrete structural forms is great enough to allow a wide range of choice as to the mode of their integration with one another in any particular instance. Like so many organic compounds composed of the same molecules arranged in different configurations, Balinese villages display a wide variation in structure on the basis of a set of invariant fundamental ingredients.

Perhaps the best systematic formulation of this type of village structure is to conceptualize it in terms of the intersection of theoretically separable planes of social organization. Each such plane consists of a set of social institutions based on a wholly different principle of affiliation, a different manner of grouping individuals or keeping them apart. In any particular village all important planes will be present, but the way in which they are adjusted to one another, the way in which they intersect, will differ, for there is no clear princi-

[See pp. 1011-1012, category 991 116, for footnotes; Analyst]

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may be seen more adequately in terms of a range of variation than in terms of a fixed pattern from which deviant cases depart. 121

In general, two main approaches to the problem of constructing first order typologies of social organization within a given culture area have been common in anthropology: the "lowest common denominator" approach, and the "representative unit" approach. In the first of these, the procedure is to create a synthetic picture of "Eskimo Life," or "Tale Society," or "Chinese Culture" by taking the various forms found throughout the greater part of the respective culture areas and integrating them so as to provide a generalized account of social structure in an overall sense. Here the anthropologist concentrates on sorting out what is typical from what is not within the entire social field, and the result is a picture which describes directly no actual, given social unit, but which rather summarizes the sort of social form characteristic of the society at whatever point one chooses to look at it. In such a view, variations are interpreted as circumscribed deviations from the general pattern caused by locally acting forces of an ecological, historical, or acculturative nature. This is the older and more popular approach of the two. It is the one usually taken by textbooks and simply descriptive monographs, by such summary volumes as Murdock's *Our Primitive Contemporaries* (1934), and for the most part by the British anthropologists in their African studies.

The "representative unit" approach might also be called the "Middletown" approach, because the procedure is to choose a concrete community—village, town, or tribal settlement—which is at least in a broad way "typical" of the sorts of community found within the culture area. Whether the choice is made on the basis of a systematic social and cultural survey of the whole area or in a more intuitive manner, the attempt is to find a community which forms a useful sample of the broader society, one in which idiosyncratic traits are few relative to those shared with other communities, and one in which most of the patterns deemed basic within the society generally are represented in a "normal" form. This procedure may be refined by choosing several such communities within subcultural areas, as in Steward's Puerto Rico study (Steward et al. 1956), but the methodological strategy is nevertheless the same: to choose a community which is to the greatest possible degree directly representative of more than itself.[2]

Both of these now established procedures yield rather strange results when applied to Bali. The lowest common denominator approach obviously depends on the possibility of finding some fairly simple fundamental patterns —a territorial village, a clan and lineage system, a developed caste structure— which appear over and over again in various parts of the culture area in a broadly similar fashion. But in Bali, though certain patterns are common throughout the whole area the form in which they actually appear differs so widely that any synthetic picture must be drawn in such a generalized fashion as to have little substantial reality of any kind. One could easily enough construct a "Balinese village" with a "typical" temple setup, hamlet organiza- 121 621 184

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121 621 184 tion, kinship system, irrigation society, title distribution, and so on; but such a composite construct would utterly fail to express the two most fundamental characteristics of Balinese village organization, namely, that these patterns take widely differing forms from village to village, and that their relative importance within any particular village integration varies greatly. For similar reasons, the representative unit approach is also almost certain to be misleading. Are we to take Njalian, Tihingan, or Blaju as typical of Bali? In a direct descriptive sense they are not typical of much beyond themselves; but neither, probably, is any other Balinese village. If we are to discriminate what is really essential and characteristic in Balinese village organization we need to take a somewhat different tack and conceptualize that organization not in terms of invariance in overt structure throughout the whole island, or from place to place within it, but rather in terms of the range of overt structure which it is possible to generate out of a fixed set of elemental components. Form, in this view, is not a fundamental constancy amid distracting and adventitious variation, but rather a set of limits within which variation is contained.

[571] What is common to Njalian, Tihingan, and Blaju, and to Balinese villages generally, is the set of planes of social organization out of which they are built up; it is the fact that they are all constructed, although in different ways, of the same materials which accounts for the strong family resemblance they show despite their great structural diversity. In the actual investigation of Balinese village organization, one of course proceeds in a direction diametrically opposite to the logic of presentation followed in this paper: the planes are derived through an inspection of a series of villages rather than discovered in pure form and then combined to generate villages. As more and more villages are studied it soon becomes clear that a relatively small set of basic elements is involved; after one has discriminated temple units, hamlets, irrigation societies, the title hierarchy, the kinship system, voluntary organizations, and governmental units -- he comes to feel that he is not likely to find a village in which one of these is wholly lacking nor one in which a completely new plane is present.[13] But though the number and type of elements are thus fairly quickly discovered the possible forms they can take and the ways in which they can unite with the other elements are not. Almost every village studied reveals some new organizational potentiality with respect to one or several of the planes, and a new mode of integration. The process of investigating Balinese village organization, in a typological sense, is therefore a process of progressive delimitation of the structural possibilities inherent in a set of fundamental social elements. What one derives is not a typical village in either the lowest common denominator or representative unit sense, but a differentiated and multidimensional social space within which actual Balinese village organizations are necessarily distributed. One discovers more and more what shapes a village can take and still be distinctively Balinese.

Among other things this means that the peculiar, the unique, and the odd take on a rather different significance than in the usual typologizing procedures, for they are seen not as exceptions to a general rule to be accounted for

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by ad hoc considerations which save the rule, but as providing valuable further clarification of the basic principles of social organization. From Njalian's criss-crossing structure we learn that the various component planes are to a very large degree independent of one another; from Tihingan we learn how the Balinese kinship system works when given full play and how the other planes then adapt to its dominance; from Blaju we learn what increased territorialism and a stress on caste imply for social integration. Each case we confront reveals something new about the implicit potentialities of the typological model we are constructing, sets new bounds on the range of variation possible within it; and it does so mainly not in terms of what is common but rather of what is unusual about it. In the same way that Cromwell has been adjudged the most typical Englishman of his time on the simple basis of his having been the oddest, so the general typological significance of any particular Balinese village lies primarily in its idiosyncracies.

NOTES

[1] The field work upon which this study is based was carried out from August 1957 to July 1958, with a three month break from January to March 1958, under a grant from the social sciences section of the Rockefeller Foundation, administered by the Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. I am indebted to my research assistant E. Rukasah of the Fakultas Pertanian in Bogor, Indonesia, and to my wife Hildred Geertz for significant contributions to this study. This paper was written during a fellowship at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, and I am indebted to many of my colleagues at the Center for their criticism and comments on earlier drafts. For general views of Balinese culture, see Bateson and Mead (1942), Covarrubias (1936) and Korn (1936).

[2] For a more detailed description of Balinese temple forms, see Covarrubias (1936).

[3] A Balinese temple festival is described in detail in Belo (1953).

[4] It is also a legal community in that all the people in a single Kahyangan-Tiga congregation follow the same general rules regarding hamlet membership, marriage, inheritance, cooperative work, etc., rules which differ in detail from Kahyangan-Tiga group to Kahyangan-Tiga group. Sometimes this law community is headed by a Bendesa Adat, or customary law chief, who gives advice and direction on problems of custom. But, again, it is only in the odd case that this customary law community happens to coincide with a concrete political community.

[5] Total Balinese population for 1954 is estimated at 1,500,000, with a mean density around 700 per square mile. In the thickly settled areas of South Bali densities reach up over 1,500 per square mile (Raka 1955).

[6] In the Tabanan area bale are lacking in most hamlets, meetings being held in the open air beneath a banyan tree or in a temple courtyard.

[7] For descriptions of these ceremonies, see Covarrubias (1936).

[8] Only a minority of Sudra, considered to have higher prestige than the mass because of former affinal or political ties to higher status groups, have true address and reference titles. Most Sudra have no address title at all.

[9] In most Balinese villages, marriage is preferentially within the dadia and, if possible, with the father's brother's daughter.

[10] Economic specialization by village still persists to some degree in Bali, and is another factor to be considered in a full analysis of variation in Balinese village structure. It has been ignored here in favor of more formal considerations only for the sake of simplicity.

[11] The only time it has threatened to get completely out of bounds was at the time of the Indonesian general elections in 1955 when each of the two factions went armed in fear of massacre by the other, but no actual violence occurred.

[12] There is a third approach to typologizing, which is particularly prevalent in Dutch studies

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of Bali (Korn 1936), in which a community is chosen for study not so much on the basis of its representativeness in a statistical sense, but rather because it is held to show prototypical forms and patterns in a relatively uncomplicated, direct, and undistorted fashion. Highly traditionalized communities which have been relatively isolated from acculturative contacts are considered to have changed more slowly than other communities and so are favored as providing pictures of underlying social structures which are clouded over by adventitious elements in the more dynamic communities. This approach has tended to lose favor as it has become apparent that it is based on a dubious theory of social change and that the traditionalism of isolated communities is as often interpretable as an adaptation to peculiar environmental circumstances as it is a persistence of earlier and more fundamental patterns.

[12] There is a handful of the so-called *Bali Aga* ("original Balinese") villages whose organization differs markedly from those of the overwhelming majority, having age groups, a gerontocratic political structure, communal land tenure, etc. Though the significance of these villages from an ethnohistorical point of view is an interesting problem, their position within Balinese society generally is marginal in the extreme. For descriptions of such villages, see Bukian (1936), Korn (1933), and Bateson and Mead (1942).

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Then, too, the right of disposal over cultivated land does not always operate in the same manner. In some law-areas (*e.g.*, South Tapanuli, Ambon, Bali and Java) it is possible to note three levels of operation in some villages. First, the community right is strongest with regard to lands without an owner, which have reverted to the village and then been reissued by the village to a new proprietor. That person's legal status for the time being permits no dealings in the land and is weak in resistance to village interference in his title; as, for instance, when it is desired to recapture the land for non-performance of communal services. Second, the right of disposal is also strong with respect to those lands which are original holdings of the villagers. So long as a male descendant holds the land of his family ancestors, he has a firm hold as a member of an original lineage within the village group. However, the village interest is on the alert against any change in the legal possession of those original lands. It admits of no alienation, no division among heirs, no combination with other fields. If a native villager dies without heirs the village appoints a new person to use those particular fields or orchards. This new proprietor will acquire a position similar to that of persons who have held such fields from of old. But that takes a good long time. Third, there may be fields or orchards in addition to those issued by the village. These are individually owned, and the community interest is weak; the proprietors may pawn or sell such lands; their reversion to the village is exceptional, and village interference with these lands is rare. In Java such lands are called "sawah jasa" (in contrast with the "sawah pekulen or gogolan"); on Ambon, "dusun pusaka" (in contrast with the "dati").

It is this variegated action of the village rights that is sometimes, and erroneously, called "mixed possession."

Residential land is occasionally handled differently under the communal right of disposal of a village than is cultivated land. Villages interfere more readily to create living space than they do to make workable fields available.

5. *The dual area of disposal.*—The dual area of disposal is encountered in two different ways. In the first and more exceptional instance, an inland village will possess its actual residential and food-producing area; and, in addition, it may hold a distant maritime area from which it derives its indispensible sea products and salt. The more common dual form, however, is that which occurs when a given area falls within the disposal powers of both a local village and the regional community in which that village lies. As a

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OBI Indonesia DBI
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place after the last harvest and before the next planting. Any planting belongs to the person who put it in the ground. Even if redemption is managed before the harvest is in, the original owner of the land must permit the planter to have his harvest.

The explicit agreement of the pledge transaction, however, may stipulate the number of seasons the lender may have undisturbed use of the land.

e. *Upkeep of pledged land.*—Pledged land must be returned to its native possessor in as good a state as that in which it was received. Damage resulting from bad faith must be compensated for. But there is no compensation for improvements or any increment in the value of the land. If the pledgee has planted perennial plants without the permission of the owner, unless he removes them again, they pass in native possession to the pledgor when the land is redeemed. In some places, however, as among the Bataks, when the pledgor tacitly permits the planting of trees on pledged land, he forfeits his right ever to redeem the land he has pledged.

f. *Lump repayment.*—Money borrowed on land must be repaid in a lump sum. If instalments are paid, they are no more than an entrusting of the sums to the pledgee in advance of final redemption.

In various law-areas there is a form of transaction which is a modified form of pledging (ngajual tutung in West Java; dondon susut among the Mandailing). In essence it is the prepaid rental of land. But the natives call it pledging, with the agreement that the loan shall be gradually worked off by turning over a part of the produce of the land. Then when the money advanced has been paid off, the field reverts to its owner.

g. *Local variations.*—The pledging of land is of common occurrence in all law-areas of Indonesia. In each area it has its peculiar shadings in harmony with the local color given by the special legal system of the area.

To give some examples: in Atjeh the offer and acceptance formula (ijaab kabul) is borrowed from Islam. Among the Bataks the transaction must take place over hot rice and with designation of the boundaries of the land in question (as is true of all their important agreements). In Minangkabau pledging of family land is permitted only to meet a family need for money for fulfilment of adat requirements (marriage of a daughter, funerals, elevation of a member to chiefship, repair of the adat house, etc.). In some of these situations the family headman has the power to pledge the land; in others a unanimous declaration of a family conclave is

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
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called for. Among these people the pledgee has to give the landowner an annual present of rice in continuing acknowledgment of the owner's right of redemption (pitungguh gadai). The Toba-Bataks accomplish the same function by having the owner preside at the annual garden sacrifices. In Bali it may be stipulated that if the field goes sterile, the loan advanced on the land must be paid back. In Java the community right of disposal limits the power of the individual to pledge the land, and this is true in other places. In Bantam the possibility of increasing the loan up to the sale value of the land is known as "ndalami gadé." The practice is recognized everywhere else, but under different names. In some places there is a repeated imitation of the initial land transaction before the village chief, in order to keep public recognition of the pledge relation alive. In Mingangkabau this is called "pitungguh gadai."

2. THE SALE OF LAND

As has already been noted, the payment of the purchase price in the presence of the chief effects an immediate transfer of native possession.

a. *Rights of a bona fide purchaser.*—Sales by persons who do not have a true title to the land occur again and again. The common situation is where the seller is merely a co-owner, or perhaps, an agent without proper authority. The transfer may well be approved and aided by the village chief under the impression that the seller is the rightful proprietor. In that event, if the buyer was acting in good faith, his purchase is good, and the law entitles him to the land in preference to the defrauded owner. The Dutch courts in a recent decision, which seems to be sound and fortunate, extended the principle to apply to the rights of a pledgee for the term fixed in a pledge transaction. The true native possessor of the land fraudulently sold is then in the position of having to buy back the land himself, or else he must give it up. His subsequent recourse is to attempt recovery of the sum in question from the fraudulent seller.[2]

b. *Public sale.*—The public sale of land in execution of a judicial decision is in violation of the principles of native law. There are no provisions for it in the adat. This raises a crucial question as to what is just, if a cultivated field is sold at a public sale for account of a false owner. No precautions have been taken in the Dutch law to see to it that the public sale is recognized in the native village legal

[2] Landraad Tasikmalaja of Nov. 18, 1935, *aff'd* Raad Batavia of July 24, 1936, 148 Tijdschrift 378.

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OR1
Java OE1 Gorontalo OG4 Bali OF7
Redjang Lampong OD12 Batak OD5
Ambon CH4
Minangkabau OD10

(although in this connection the property which has been given to the daughters must not be left out of consideration). In Minangkabau, it is only half true; namely, only with respect to the mother. Inheritance from the father goes to his sister's children and not to those of his wife. In the Lampongs it is only half true, insofar as there only the oldest child inherits, although he has the duty of treating the family of the father as his own family. The rule that after the death of the native possessor the estate remains undivided under certain circumstances brings about a different situation in the Minahasa than among the Minangkabau, and in Bali and Java.

The rules of inheritance are subject to not only the influence of social changes, growth of the family tie, with concomitant decrease of the clan and tribal tie, but also to the influence of rules of inheritance of foreign legal systems, which as a result of certain external connections with religion are provided with an authority derived from religion, and are, for example, applied to concrete instances by religious judges. However, this influence is noticeable to a far less degree in case of the law of inheritance than in the law of marriage. Whether permanent resistance is offered to it, or whether radical action can proceed from it, depends upon the power of the formal law of inheritance.

We shall discuss in the following order the continuance of the undivided estate, then the legal acts which accomplish or influence distribution, then the parties entitled to inherit *ab intestato*, and finally, the inheritance of particular constituents of the estate and debts. The placing of property in the grave, which according to belief was too personally connected with the deceased to be capable of being possessed without danger by other persons, must be regarded as a custom that has disappeared or is disappearing.

A. THE UNDIVIDED ESTATE

The indivisibility of an estate is in some law-areas dependent upon the impossibility of owning property received from the fathers and mothers other than jointly with the other kinsmen. The extended possessions, the "harta pusaka," of the Minangkabau and the extended family lands (dati) on the Hitu Peninsula of Ambon may serve as examples. Every child that is born is a participant in the complex of persons which possesses extended family property, arable fields, residential compounds with house and cattle, krisses and precious objects. The death of the individual man or woman leaves the complex undisturbed.